Language Planning and National Identity in Croatia

Keith Langston and Anita Peti-Stantić

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Language Planning and National Identity in Croatia

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To Kevin and to Goran, Mirta, Ljudevit, and Vedrana

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Series Editor's Preface

Worldwide migration and unprecedented economic, political, and social integration in Europe present serious challenges to the nature and position of language minorities. Some communities receive protective legislation and active support from states through policies that promote and sustain cultural and linguistic diversity; others succumb to global homogenization and assimilation. At the same time, discourses on diversity and emancipation have produced greater demands for the management of difference.

This series publishes new research based on single or comparative case studies on minority languages worldwide. We focus on their use, status and prospects, and on linguistic pluralism in areas with immigrant or traditional minority communities or with shifting borders. Each volume is written in an accessible style for researchers and students in linguistics, education, anthropology, politics, and other disciplines, and for practitioners interested in language minorities and diversity.

Gabrielle Hogan-Brun
University of Bristol

Preface

This book examines the changing status and norms of the Croatian language in the context of theories of language planning and the relationship between language and identity. It focuses on the period following the creation of an independent Croatian state in 1991 but also includes a discussion of the historical development of standard languages in the region and linguistic issues in the Yugoslav period to provide a context for understanding the contemporary linguistic situation. Although this topic has attracted a great deal of attention from scholars, much of this research has been written in Croatian for a Croatian audience. This is the first book in English to focus specifically on Croatian language planning and linguistic identity. We make use of a broad range of primary and secondary sources, including survey and corpus data, to support our arguments. We have been investigating this topic for over ten years, both individually and together, and while different sections of this work were written primarily by one or another of the authors, the book represents the result of our close collaboration and extensive discussions. It combines the perspectives of both authors: an insider (a Croatian linguist living and working in Croatia) and an outsider (an American linguist). We believe that this has allowed us to provide both a more objective and a more nuanced approach than is found in some of the previous research, one that acknowledges the complexity of the linguistic situation in Croatia today.

Our book is intended primarily for scholars interested in language planning and policy, in the general field of sociolinguistics, or in the Slavic language family in particular. However, we have also attempted to provide a sufficient amount of explanation and context so that the work will be accessible to readers in other fields, such as history, sociology, anthropology, or political science, who have an interest in this topic.

Many colleagues have encouraged us in our work and offered comments and advice on our earlier publications on this subject and on portions of this research that we have presented at academic conferences. We would like in particular to thank Ronelle Alexander, Bojan Belić, Wayles Browne, Mirjana Dedaić, Grace Fielder, Victor Friedman, Robert Greenberg, Christina Kramer, Mirko Peti, Ivo Pranjković, Bernard Spolsky, and Ivo Žanić. We would also like to thank the anonymous

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The questions surrounding the idea of the existence or non-existence of an independent Croatian language, its defining characteristics, and recent language-planning activities in Croatia have invited a wide range of conflicting and sometimes emotional opinions, and we are aware that not everyone will agree with our interpretations. Responsibility for the content and any errors is ours. All translations are our own, unless otherwise indicated.

Acknowledgments

Table 2.2 has been re-printed from Czerwiński, Maciej (2005) *Język—ideologija—naród. Polityka językowa w Chorwacji a język mediów*, Kraków, with kind permission from Scriptum Publishing.

List of Abbreviations

AVNOJ	Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia
AZOO	Agency for Education and Teacher Training
BCS	Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian
BFM	Babić, Finka, and Moguš, *Hrvatski pravopis* (various editions)
CNC	Croatian National Corpus
Cr.	Croatian
DAI	*De administrando imperio* (Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus)
ECRML	European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages
EU	European Union
HAZU	Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts
HDUJ	Croatian State Office for Language (1941–45)
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union
HINA	Croatian News Agency
HRT	Croatian Radio and Television
ICTY	United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IHJJ	Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics
JAZU	Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts
MASPOK	Mass Movement (for democratic and economic reforms in the SFRY)
MCC	Mannheim Croatian Corpus
MZOS	Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports (2012–Present)
MZOŠ	Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports (2003–11)
NDH	Independent State of Croatia (1941–45)
NKZ	National Classification of Occupations
NOK	National Comprehensive Curriculum

OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
S.	Serbian
SDP	Social Democratic Party of Croatia
SDSS	Independent Democratic Serbian Party
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
UN	United Nations

Grammatical abbreviations

A	accusative
ADJ	adjective
AOR	aorist
COLL	collective
D	dative
DECL	declension
DEF	definite
DIM	diminutive
FEM	feminine
G	genitive
I	instrumental
INDEF	indefinite
L	locative
MASC	masculine
N	nominative
NEUT	neuter
PL	plural
PPLE	participle
SG	singular
V	vocative

Part I
The Croatian Language Question in Context

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1
The Croatian Language Question and Croatian Identity

Introduction

The last decade of the 20th century represented an extremely turbulent period for Croatia. By 1990, the old political system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was collapsing, and tensions among Croatia and the other constituent republics were running high. After the first multi-party elections in Croatia in the spring of that year brought Franjo Tuđman and his nationalist Croatian Democratic Union party to power (the Hrvatska demokratska zajednica, or HDZ), the Croatian government began to revive old Croatian national symbols, to rename streets and squares, and to create Croatian national institutions to compete with those associated with the federal Yugoslav government (Tanner 1997: 229). On 22 December 1990, the Croatian Parliament (the Sabor) ratified a new constitution which removed the word 'socialist' from the official name of the republic and asserted Croatia's rights as a sovereign state (Tanner 1997: 230). Among other controversial changes, it declared the official language of the republic to be Croatian (Sabor Republike Hrvatske 1990, Article 12; see also Jaroszewicz 2004: 147). On 25 June of the following year, in tandem with Slovenia, Croatia declared its independence from Yugoslavia, and war broke out soon afterwards.

For anyone who is unfamiliar with the history of the region, and in particular the development of standard languages on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, controversy over the proclamation of Croatian as the official language of the newly independent state may seem puzzling. The prevailing ideology of modern nationalism, which has its origins in European nationalist movements of the 18th and 19th centuries, is based on the assumption that the equation *nation* = *language* = *territory* = *state* represents the ideal state of affairs (Lunt 1984: 89–90; see also

Thomas 1994: 250). The fact that there are groups of people seen as constituting a nation (for example, the Germans, the Chinese), who speak a distinct language (German, Chinese), and possess a sovereign state whose official title is based on some form of their national name (the Federal Republic of Germany, the People's Republic of China) is popularly viewed as reflecting the natural order of things.[1] From this perspective, what could be controversial about the fact that Croats should proclaim the official language of their state to be Croatian? However, the situation here is complicated by specific political and historical factors,[2] the most obvious of which is a tradition of language-planning efforts dating back to the 19th century that were directed towards the creation of a common Serbo-Croatian language. It was an official policy of the former Yugoslavia that Serbian and Croatian were simply variants of a single Serbo-Croatian language, and this unified language was seen as a key factor promoting national cohesion.

With the collapse of Yugoslavia, the assertion of Croatian's status as a language in its own right, distinct from Serbian, was seen by many as crucial for the recognition of the Croats as a distinct nation with the right to political self-determination. Miro Kačić, at that time the director of the Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics, was quoted in a 1996 newspaper interview as saying: 'The Croatian language, along with the Croatian army, is the guarantee of Croatian existence and identity' (Kačić 1996). Attempts have been made to implement changes in the language, primarily in the lexicon, but also in the orthography and to a lesser degree in the grammar, both out of a desire to return Croatian to some idealized 'pure' state before it had been subject to what many saw as undue Serbian influence throughout the Yugoslav period, and also to heighten the differences between the contemporary Croatian and Serbian norms in order to support the claim that they are two separate languages. Those who did not conform to the emerging norms of 'pure' Croatian usage sometimes encountered hostile reactions or had their identity as Croats called into question.[3] Heated polemics were conducted in the pages of academic journals, newspapers, and magazines, and those whose views on the language were seen as being insufficiently patriotic were sometimes labeled as 'communists', 'Yugo-nostalgics', or 'Crypto-Yugoslavs' (see, for example, Brozović 1994: 84; 1996: 27; 1998a: 172; Škarić 1994: 98).[4] The satirical tabloid *Feral Tribune* announced that an academic study had concluded that only four words were purely Croatian and that these would be the only words that could be spoken in the Sabor from that point on (Hedges 1996a).

The degree of importance attached to language and the passions that it continues to arouse can be understood fully only with reference to the particular situation in Croatia. First of all, one must recognize that language was already highly politicized in the former Yugoslavia, where any expressions of a specifically Croatian linguistic identity were seen as dangerously nationalistic and separatist, and consequently as threats to the unity of the Yugoslav state. According to Matasović (2008a: 70), 'the decisive factor for the exceptionally important role that the Croatian language plays today in the formation of Croatian national identity and for the sensitivity of Croats to the problem of linguistic identity was the repression of the totalitarian regime of the Communist party'. In addition, the urgency and intensity of debates over linguistic issues immediately after Croatia's independence were heightened by the wartime situation, which made nationalist/separatist tendencies with respect to language even stronger than they might otherwise have been if Croatia's secession from the SFRY had taken place peacefully. Any evaluation of recent developments in the language must take into account the political climate both before and after 1991.

Croats have throughout much of their history felt themselves to be speakers of a minority language. According to the working definition adopted by Hogan-Brun and Wolff (2003: 7), a minority language is a language that differs from the language used by the majority of a country's population (which usually also represents the state or official language) and that is spoken by a politically non-dominant minority group who wish to maintain their own distinct linguistic and cultural identity. Croatia was under Austrian rule from 1527–1918, and Croatian was just one of many minority languages within the Austrian Empire. This status did not change in the way that Croats had hoped after they were united with Serbia in an independent Yugoslav state following World War I, or in the SFRY after World War II. Croats were outnumbered by Serbs almost two to one in the SFRY (according to the 1981 census; see Bugarski 1992: 14), and they felt that the balance of political power unduly favored the Serbs. Although they were officially speakers of the majority Serbo-Croatian language, many Croats felt that their uniquely Croatian linguistic and cultural identity was being threatened by policies aimed at creating a unified Serbo-Croatian norm. This mindset continued to play a role after Croatia's independence. Although Croatian was now the official majority language in the newly independent Republic of Croatia, the Serb-dominated rump Yugoslavia under Milošević initially remained a serious military and political threat.

Once peace was established, there was still a perception that Croatian continued to be in a precarious position internationally and so must be defended, although in recent years English, rather than Serbian, has come to be seen as the greater threat. The Croatian government has also been concerned about the linguistic rights of Croatian minorities in neighboring countries. At the same time, the recognition of Croatian as a distinct language means that Serbian must also be accorded the same status, which creates a question of minority linguistic rights for Serbs living in Croatia (Pupavac 2003: 141). As Hogan-Brun and Wolff point out, a minority language in one time and place may constitute a majority language under other circumstances (2003: 7–8).

Following Picchio (1984), we may refer to debates over the status and norms of Croatian in broad terms as the 'Croatian language question'. While our focus is on the contemporary linguistic situation, this term also acknowledges its historical roots and the parallels with the humanistic *questione della lingua* of the Renaissance, which was concerned with the choice of a suitable idiom to serve as the literary language of a community and the establishment of its norms through the selection of appropriate models (Picchio 1984: 2). Modern theories of language planning and policy deal with these same issues, and, as we shall see, many of the current debates about the Croatian language are connected with its earlier cultural traditions and the history of its standardization, going back to the 19th century or earlier. Although much has been written about the Croatian language question, which necessarily includes its interrelationships with the other closely related language varieties (Serbian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin) that also gained official status after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, these works often offer radically different interpretations, depending on the viewpoint of the author. In what follows, we will outline some of the major aspects of the Croatian language question and give some indication of the range of divergent opinions that they have evoked.

Questions related to the name and status of the language

Apart from any consideration of similarities and differences between Croatian and other languages, or of its historical process of standardization, Croatian writers typically insist that the Croatian people should be allowed to name their language in whatever way they see fit. They appeal to the notion of linguistic self-determination as a fundamental human right (see, for example, Katičić 1996: 19; HAZU 1996), and the expectation is that others will respect this right by also referring to the language

as Croatian. In academic circles, there has been particular concern about the continued use of 'Serbo-Croatian' in linguistic studies, in the names of departments or courses in foreign universities, and as a subject heading in library catalogs (see Chapter 5). Although Serbo-Croatian was the primary official language of the former Yugoslavia, from a Croatian perspective the fact that there were observable differences in the standard varieties used in Croatia and Serbia indicates that the Serbo-Croatian language was a fiction, an idea imposed for the political purpose of unifying these different ethnic groups into a single nation-state. According to this view, Croatian has always been a distinct language by virtue of its distinctive linguistic culture throughout its history, while a unified, 'real' Serbo-Croatian language never actually existed. As an illustration of this position, we can cite the introduction to the handbook of Croatian usage (the *Hrvatski jezični savjetnik*) published by the Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics:

> Serbo-Croatian (or Croato-Serbian) did not and does not exist as a concrete and spontaneous language; i.e., Serbo-Croatian (or Croato-Serbian) did not and does not exist as a native language or, more precisely, Serbo-Croatian (or Croato-Serbian) did not and does not exist as a standard language. What did and still does exist are two concrete and spontaneous languages, two native languages, two standard languages: Croatian and Serbian. The Croats have their Croatian, and the Serbs their Serbian language. Every text is realized either as a Croatian or Serbian text and every communication is realized either as a Croatian or Serbian communication. There is no text or communication that would simultaneously be both Croatian and Serbian. (Barić et al. 1999: 9)

Nonetheless, the concept of a single Serbo-Croatian language had become well established in the 19th and 20th centuries, both within and outside the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The Slavist Jernej Kopitar in 1822 referred to a single 'Serbian or Illyrian language' spoken in the region, which he said could also be called 'Croatian', and in 1836 (writing in Latin) he specifically used compound forms '*Serbochrovatica*' or '*Chrovatoserbica*' as alternate names for the Illyrian language. The first known use of a compound name (*serbisch-croatische*), however, was in Jakob Grimm's introduction to his translation of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's Serbian grammar in 1824. The Croat Antun Mažuranić in his Croatian school grammar of 1859 stated specifically that Croatian and Serbian are a single language, which could be called either

hèrvatsko-sèrbski or *sèrbsko-hèrvatski* (see Lencek 1976 for these and other references). Similar compound names were used in other languages as well, such as English and French, beginning somewhat later in the 19th century. After the establishment of a unified Yugoslav state, the language varieties in question were officially treated as a single language, called variously *srpskohrvatski, hrvatskosrpski, srpski ili hrvatski*, and so on.[5] Particularly in socialist Yugoslavia, the promotion of a common language was seen as important for the construction and maintenance of a Yugoslav identity to counter any separatist nationalist tendencies, under the slogan of 'brotherhood and unity' (*bratstvo i jedinstvo*).

Given this long history of 'Serbo-Croatianism', it is not surprising that there has been resistance to the idea that today's officially designated Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin languages are actually distinct entities. For example, representatives to the European Parliament have more than once recommended that Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia all be required to use a single official language (that is, Serbo-Croatian) within EU institutions, rather than financially burden the EU with translations into separate languages (see Chapter 5). A number of scholars working outside Croatia have pointed to the fact that these language varieties are mutually intelligible and virtually identical in their grammatical structure, differing primarily in a limited number of lexical items, as objective linguistic proof that they represent a single language (for example, Thomas 1994; Pohl 1996; Kordić 2001, 2009, 2010; Gröschel 2009). Linguists within Croatia typically counter this by arguing that mutual intelligibility and structural similarities are less important than sociolinguistic factors, citing the different cultural traditions of language use and what they view as a distinct standardization process for Croatian (for example, Škarić 1994: 97; Brozović 1996: 30ff.; see also Brozović 1970: 28).

In connection with this, Croatian linguists have called into question the more or less traditional view of the development of standard Serbo-Croatian, which had previously been accepted by many Slavists. According to this traditional interpretation, which is still supported by many Serbian and other foreign linguists, the modern standard languages of both the Croats and the Serbs had their beginnings in the work of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (often referred to simply as Vuk) in the 19th century. In this version of events, Ljudevit Gaj and other members of the Illyrian Movement in Croatia decided to abandon previous written practices in favor of a language that could unite the Croats and Serbs. Great significance was attached to the 'Literary Agreement' of 1850, when a group of Croatian intellectuals met in Vienna with Vuk

and his younger collaborator Đuro Daničić and signed a document that urged the adoption of a unified standard language and outlined the principles on which this standard should be based, along the lines that had already been proposed by Vuk for Serbian. According to the Serbian linguist Branislav Brborić (1996: 21), the Croatians adopted not only Vuk's ijekavian štokavian dialectal base (see Chapter 3), but also his orthography, orthoepy, lexicon, morphology, word formation, phraseology, syntax and style. Brborić goes on to say that it is consequently not surprising that it has often been said that 'the Croatians in fact adopted the Serbian language, accepted the Serbian linguistic standard, [and] called it the Croatian language, but have found it difficult to endure the unfortunate consequences that this adoption has had for their national identity' (ibid.).

In Croatian scholarship, the Croatian standard language is seen as the result of an organic process of development which began centuries before Vuk and was completed essentially independently from Serbian. According to the generally accepted Croatian version, Vuk's ideas played an important role in the completion of this process, but only because they corresponded to the basic trends that had already been established in Croatia in the 18th century. Vuk's role in the formation of standard Croatian was merely that of the creator of an influential model, which helped resolve the few minor issues that remained to be decided in the last stages of a process of standardization that had already been going on for a significant period of time (Katičić 1997: 168–9). From this perspective, the Vienna Literary Agreement had 'no important practical consequences', since the developing Croatian standard was already based on some of the same literary models used by Vuk, and his proposals for the Serbian standard were very similar to the norms that had already begun to take shape for Croatian (Katičić 1984: 278; see also Franolić 1983: 90). In particular, Croatian linguists point to an earlier tradition of grammars and dictionaries produced in the historical Croatian lands, which Vuk made use of in his own work.

Although prominent Croatian intellectuals in the 19th century supported the idea of the creation of a common standard language, there was also resistance to abandoning traditional Croatian forms in favor of those sanctioned by Vuk and his followers (see Chapter 4). Attempts to further unify linguistic practices in the 20th century, both in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia before World War II and afterwards in the SFRY, began to be seen as discriminatory against traditional Croatian usage and as an expression of Serbian hegemony. As a result, in publications that have appeared in Croatia since 1990, the language policies of the

former Yugoslavia have often been described in terms such as the following: 'Serbian linguistic hegemony' (Brozović 1996: 26), 'unitaristic coercion' (Babić 2004a: 14), 'the deliberate and systematic elimination of Croatian components' (Bašić 1997: 157), 'the forced alignment of the Croatian and Serbian languages' (Tanocki 1994: 9), 'the neglect, distortion and disparagement of [the Croats'] rich and diverse linguistic heritage and culture' (Pranjković 2008: 90), 'linguistic violence' (Matica hrvatska 1996: 165), 'violence against the [Croatian] language' (Matasović 2008a: 68), and so on. From a different perspective, however, Serbian influences on Croatian usage in the two Yugoslavias can also be understood as representing (at least in part) a natural and spontaneous process. Given the fact that the Serbs were the largest ethnic group and that the center of government was in Belgrade, Croats were frequently exposed to Serbian usage in the media, through contacts with governmental institutions, and for males through service in the military, where the officer corps was predominantly Serbian (see Gröschel 2009: 38ff.). Even if one disputes the idea of a deliberate policy to impose Serbian linguistic norms, one would expect this situation of language contact to affect language usage within Croatia.[6]

Questions related to the prescriptive norms of standard Croatian

Opinions about how to define the norms of the contemporary Croatian standard language differ considerably. On the one hand, distinctive patterns of lexical and grammatical usage already existing in the contemporary language are cited as proof of the individuality of Croatian (see, for example, Pranjković 1997: 59). In a statement issued by the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, or HAZU) titled 'The Croatian language – A distinct Slavic language', Serbian and Croatian versions of a recipe are given to illustrate the differences between the two (HAZU 1996: 163 [differences highlighted in bold print]):

Serbian

Čorba od ***kelerabe sa*** pečenicom. Sitno ***iseckati crni*** luk, pa ga popržiti u Zepter posudi. Dodati ***kelerabi supu*** i ***kuvati*** 15 minuta. Propasirati ***čorbu***. Dodati ***pavlaku***. Ukrasiti pečenicom, ***isečenom*** na rezance, kao i listićem ***peršuna***.
(*Kuvar*, Zepter International, Linz, 1991: 55)

Croatian
Juha od ***korabice s*** pečenicom. Sitno ***isjeckati (crveni)*** luk, pa ga popržiti u Zepter posudi. Dodati ***korabici juhu i kuhati*** 15 minuta. Propasirati ***juhu***. Dodati ***vrhnje***. Ukrasiti pečenicom, ***izrezanom*** na rezance, kao i listićem ***peršina***.
[Kohlrabi soup with sausage.[7] Finely mince a (red) onion and sauté in a Zepter pot. Add broth to the kohlrabi and cook for 15 minutes. Strain the soup. Add cream. Garnish with sausage cut into strips and parsley leaves.]

The author or authors of this statement describe this example as follows: '35 words and 12 differences, or 35%. It is impossible by any combination of this to create a text that would be both Croatian and Serbian, i.e., "Serbo-Croatian"' (HAZU 1996: 163).[8] But on the other hand, one could also find short texts that are identical or virtually identical in both Serbian and Croatian. A recent textbook of Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian for foreigners, which gives parallel texts in all three varieties in each lesson and carefully points out the differences among them, contains examples such as the following (Alexander and Elias-Bursać 2006: 202–3 [differences highlighted in bold type]):

Serbian
— Ako pročitam tvoje materijale noćas, ***daću*** ti ih sutra ujutro rano na poslu.
— Koliko još imaš stranica?
— Pa nekih pedesetak.
— Bolje bi ipak bilo kad bi to pročitao najkasnije do osamnaest i trideset. Treba mi moj ***primerak*** materijala da bih ih obradio s kolegom večeras u devetnaest i trideset.

Croatian
— Ako pročitam tvoje materijale noćas, ***dat ću*** ti ih sutra ujutro rano na poslu.
— Koliko još imaš stranica?
— Pa nekih pedesetak.
— Bolje bi ipak bilo kad bi to pročitao najkasnije do osamnaest i trideset. Treba mi moj ***primjerak*** materijala da bih ih obradio s kolegom večeras u devetnaest i trideset.
[— If I finish reading your material tonight I'll give it to you early tomorrow morning at work.
— How many pages do you have left?

— About 50.
— It would be better if you could read it by 6:30 at the latest. I need my copy so that I can work on it with a colleague tonight at 7:30.]

Here we have 50 words with only two differences, one of which is purely orthographical (*daću* vs *dat ću*, both pronounced [dat̪ɕu]).[9]

While admittedly trivial, examples such as the ones above show the difficulty one faces when trying to 'prove' that Croatian and Serbian are two distinct languages. As previously stated, many Croatian linguists argue that the determining factors are really sociolinguistic in nature, so that the absolute number of structural differences or degree of mutual comprehension are irrelevant, but some segments of Croatian society also appear to believe that the inherited Croatian standard is not sufficiently different from Serbian. According to this view, the language policies of the 19th and 20th centuries thwarted the 'natural' development of the standard language, and previously existing differences with Serbian should be restored. They would like to purify the language of elements that are seen as foreign, particularly those that are believed to be more characteristic of Serbian, and return the language to some idealized 'natural' state. In fact, linguistic purism is often cited as a defining characteristic of Croatian (see, for example, Samardžija 1997: 195). According to a number of linguists, users of the language have traditionally preferred to coin new words using the resources of the language itself rather than simply borrowing a foreign word.[10] In contemporary discourse about the Croatian language, this tendency is often ascribed to the language itself, which is said to strive towards purism and to prefer native words over foreign ones (for example, Tanocki 1994: 51; Mamić 1996: 136; Dulčić 1997: 8). In addition, speakers of Croatian are sometimes said to possess a 'linguistic intuition' or 'feeling for the language' (*jezični osjećaj*), which leads them to instinctively choose a native Croatian form over a Serbian or other foreign word (see Guberina and Krstić 1940: 22, 74; Wingender 1997: 384–5; Barić et al. 1999: 49–50; Brozović 2006b [1972–1973]: 28). However, it is also said that this innate linguistic intuition has to some extent been corrupted due to Serbian influence in the former Yugoslavia. Consequently, a large number of works have been published in Croatia since 1990 with the goal of rooting out undesirable forms in the usage of Croatian speakers. These include language handbooks, so-called 'differential dictionaries', and language advice columns in newspapers; television and radio stations have also broadcast regular programs about linguistic issues. Many of these sources have promoted a rigidly puristic view of the language

and fail to take into account the different stylistic values of the forms in question.

Such advice on proper usage has focused mainly on lexical items, but other aspects of the standard language have also been discussed. Questions of orthography have been widely debated, and there are currently several competing orthographic handbooks in use which differ in a number of minor details (for example, whether or not they prescribe morphologically motivated spellings such as *strjelica* instead of *strelica* 'arrow', *zadatci* instead of *zadaci* 'assignments', and so on; see Chapter 8). More radical changes to the orthographical system have also been proposed, but these received little support from the beginning and do not play a role in current discussions. Certain variant grammatical forms have also been described as being typically Croatian, and some language experts argue that they should be favored in contemporary standard usage.

The implementation of changes and reactions to language planning efforts

There has been considerable debate within Croatia about the type and extent of changes that should be made to the standard language, or whether any changes are needed at all. The government, educational system, academic institutions, media, and private individuals have played an active role in these discussions and in attempts to influence linguistic behavior. In some areas of government administration, and particularly in the military, traditional Croatian terms have been reintroduced to replace forms that were employed during the Yugoslav period, and in these contexts the usage of these words has become more or less normal. Elsewhere, the situation is much more fluid, and while changes in the frequency of some forms can be observed, their degree of acceptance among the broader population is questionable. Particularly in the 1990s, linguistic issues were highly politically charged, and whether an individual used one form or another could be seen as an expression of patriotism or as opposition to the nationalist agenda of the governing HDZ party. To some extent, these political overtones continue to be felt today. As with other aspects of the Croatian language question, efforts to redefine the norms of standard Croatian after independence have been interpreted differently. They are portrayed by some Croatian linguists as natural, spontaneous developments, while others see them as politically motivated attempts to enforce a rigidly puristic view of the language and artificially distance it from Serbian.

For example, in a periodization of the history of the Croatian language offered by the Croatian linguist Marko Samardžija, he states:

> From that time [the collapse of the SFRY] begins the fourth period, in which the Croatian language, for the first time in its long history, was not subject to political pressure and in which it was not misused as a means for achieving different political and ideological goals. (Samardžija 1997: 206–7)

Referring to the same period, the Serbian linguist Ranko Bugarski has said:

> Croatian, and to a lesser degree Bosnian, are being subjected to linguistic engineering so that they will diverge as much and as soon as possible from each other, and especially from Serbian. From a political as well as a sociolinguistic perspective, the Croatian aspiration to be different can be understood; however, what is surprising, and possibly without precedent in the history of language planning campaigns, is the speed and thoroughness with which the state is striving to change its language practically to the point of unrecognizability. (Bugarski 1997: 15, cited by Czerwiński 2005: 18)

Thus, the same processes are described from different perspectives either as reflecting newfound freedom from political pressure or as the deliberate manipulation of language in the service of politics.

There is also some natural degree of resistance to any changes in the standard language among the general public, and disapproval of the coining of new words, of the revival of archaic forms, and of what is apparently seen by some as an excessive focus on linguistic differences has frequently been reflected in humor (see Brozović 1998a: 173), both within Croatia and in the neighboring former Yugoslav republics. For example, various versions of a facetious Serbian-Croatian dictionary have circulated on the Internet, which include entries such as Serbian *svinja* 'pig': Croatian *okolokućni blatobrčkalo*, literally 'around-the-house mud-wallower'. In a sketch shown on the comedy show *Top lista nadrealista* (The surrealists' top chart, 1984–1991) on Sarajevo TV, a character called Professor Nermin Padež appearing on a fictional TV broadcast *Otvoreno o jeziku* (Straight talk about language) announces his 'epochal discovery' that what had been known as the Serbo-Croatian language actually represents six different languages: Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Herzegovinian, Montian and Negrian. He then proceeds to illustrate

the differences by showing how the simple sentence 'I am reading' would sound in each of these languages (in every instance identically, *ja čitam*), while the moderator of the fictional broadcast falls asleep.[11]

Aims of this book

Our goal in writing this book is to examine the changing status and norms of the Croatian language in the context of theories of language planning and language and identity. Our focus is on the period following the creation of an independent Croatian state, but some discussion of the historical development of standard languages in the region and the linguistic situation in the Yugoslav period is necessary for a full understanding of the developments after 1990. In the face of a welter of conflicting and sometimes emotional opinions about the existence of an independent Croatian language, its defining characteristics, and language planning activities in Croatia, we hope to provide an assessment that is as comprehensive and objective as possible, based on both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. The complex history of language standardization in the Yugoslav lands as well as the intensive focus on language planning in Croatia following its independence make it an especially interesting case study, which can also contribute to our understanding of language policy and planning issues in general.

Chapter 2 deals with theoretical approaches to language and identity. It discusses key sociolinguistic concepts concerning language varieties and their relationships to speech communities, language planning, theories of identity, and the role of language in the formation of ethnic and national identity, providing a context for the discussion of the Croatian linguistic situation in the following chapters. Chapter 3 explores the genetic and structural relationship of Croatian to other language varieties in the central South Slavic region, and the implications of this for the status of Croatian. Chapter 4 describes the historical processes of standardization for Croatian and Serbian, as well as language policy and planning in Yugoslavia in the 20th century. Chapter 5 deals with the question of language rights and the international recognition of Croatian, while Chapter 6 examines legal aspects of language planning on the national level. In Chapter 7 we discuss academic and cultural institutions that have played a role similar to that of language academies in other countries, analyzing their programmatic statements and prescriptive recommendations. Chapter 8 focuses on linguistic purism and its role in the history of Croatian standardization processes. We analyze here what we consider to be some of the most important

Croatian language handbooks, as well as the specific phenomenon of so-called 'differential dictionaries', which attempt to distinguish between 'good' or 'pure' Croatian words and those that are considered to be Serbian or foreign. Chapters 9 and 10 analyze language policies in the educational system and the media, since these are two of the most important avenues for influencing attitudes toward the standard language and implementing changes in its norms. In both instances, we conclude that language planning has had only limited success. The final chapter summarizes the results of our research and discusses its implications for broader questions of linguistic identity, language planning, and language policy. We consider the relationship of Croatian with its sister languages, which remains relevant in the context of EU integration, and the future of Croatian language policy.

2
Language and Identity: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Introduction

According to the website of the Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics (Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikslovlje, or IHJJ; www.ihjj.hr/institut.html), 'since its beginnings, in other words already for more than a millennium, the Croatian language has been the fundamental guarantor of the preservation of Croatian identity'. The idea of language as an expression of identity has deep historical roots; for example, in the western tradition we find evidence of this already in the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Greek philosophers:

> 5 And the Gileadites took the passages of Jordan before the Ephraimites: and it was so, that when those Ephraimites which were escaped said, Let me go over; that the men of Gilead said unto him, art thou an Ephraimite? If he say Nay;
> 6 Then said they unto him, Say now *Shibboleth*: and he said *Sibboleth*: for he could not frame to pronounce it right. Then they took him, and slew him at the passages of Jordan: and there fell at that time of the Ephraimites forty and two thousand. (Book of Judges, Chapter 12 [King James Version])

> And so names too were not at first deliberately given to things, but men's natures according to their different nationalities [*ethnē*] had their own peculiar feelings and received their peculiar impressions, and so each in their own way emitted air formed into shape by each of these feelings and impressions, according to the differences made in the different nations by the places of their abode as well. (Epicurus, *Letter to Herodotus*, 75–6, translation by Bailey 1926; cited by Joseph 2004: 43)

The awareness of how differences in language may reflect different identities is probably universal. However, people are often not conscious of how language functions as a means of constructing identity, in addition to serving as a marker of identity, and widespread beliefs about the nature of language and identity themselves are problematic. In order to understand the role of language with respect to Croatian identity (or rather, identities), it is necessary first to examine the basic concepts involved.

The existence of a given language is commonly seen as an objective fact, which can identify its users as members of some particular group. This viewpoint is based on the assumption that speech varieties can naturally be classified into distinct dialects and languages, but the reality is considerably more complex. Debates over the status of Croatian mentioned in the previous chapter revolve around the meanings of terms such as dialect, language, and standard language, so this chapter examines these and other fundamental linguistic concepts that are used throughout the book.

Like language, identity is also often implicitly understood as possessing some objective, natural basis. From this perspective, identity appears to be shaped by a combination of innate characteristics and external circumstances, and once a person's identity is established it is often simply taken for granted. Although one may choose certain aspects of identity, these may consequently be seen as false or assumed, rather than representing who one 'really' is. A truly authentic identity is commonly seen as inherent and permanent; as the Spanish proverb says, *Aunque la mona se vista de seda, mona se queda* (Although the monkey dresses in silk, a monkey it remains). However much truth there may be in this saying and its equivalents in other languages, the scholarly study of identity has shown that it is actually socially constructed, rather than being objectively determined. While the focus of our attention here will be largely on national identity, it will be useful first to examine the notion of 'identity' in a more general sense.

Varieties of language

Although 'language' is used both as a popular and as a scientific linguistic term, this concept is notoriously difficult to define in any completely satisfactory manner (see Haugen 1966 for one often-cited discussion of this problem). Languages are commonly viewed as natural entities with some objectively real existence, and it is assumed that they can be delimited exclusively on the basis of unambiguous and non-subjective

criteria. Linguists themselves often appear to take this for granted in the way they refer to individual languages. But in fact, upon closer examination, many of the seemingly obvious 'common-sense' assumptions about the existence and nature of discrete languages turn out to be seriously flawed. The same applies to related concepts such as 'dialect' or 'speech community', which will also be considered below. Nevertheless, it is difficult to say anything meaningful about the linguistic behavior of groups of people without using some terminology of this sort, and we will argue that these are in fact valid concepts for the study of language in its social context.

The term 'language' has a multiplicity of meanings. In the most general sense, it can be defined as 'the systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs, or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression' (Crystal 1987). This general definition of language involves a social component, and that is precisely the aspect of language that we will be investigating here; we are concerned primarily with sociolinguistic definitions of language, and not language as the competence of an individual speaker, as the term is often used in other branches of linguistics. However, some linguists, such as Chomsky, would argue that only language in the latter sense can be a proper object of scientific inquiry. Chomsky makes a distinction between I-language, the internalized grammar of an individual speaker, and E-language, the external language used by groups of people for communication (Chomsky 1986). In Chomsky's view, E-languages simply do not exist as entities that can be coherently defined; they are abstractions, which in the best case represent only the common properties of a given group of I-languages (Hornstein 1998: 340). The same skepticism towards the validity of categories such as languages or dialects has been expressed by sociolinguists as well (for example, Hudson 1996). But while from one perspective it is possible to argue that language is something that only exists in the mind of an individual, it is equally possible to argue that language is something that only exists in a community of speakers (see, for example, Smith 1998). Neither conception of language is possible without the other, and linguistic research must take both of these perspectives into account.

As a neutral way of referring to some given manifestation of language as a single entity, linguists typically use the term 'variety'. More specifically, a variety can be defined as 'a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution' (Hudson 1996: 22). This term therefore encompasses all possible levels of description, from the concept of an individual language such as French, to a dialect (that is, a variety associated with

a specific geographically defined group of speakers), to the speech of a single individual (an idiolect). It includes the language used by any purely socially defined groups (sociolects) as well as situationally determined uses of language, such as different styles or registers.[1]

While an individual language is thus by definition a variety itself, in both common usage and as a technical linguistic term 'language' is normally employed as a superordinate category: a language represents a set of varieties (Ammon 1987: 317). As a result, one might reasonably think that a language could be defined at least partly in terms of *size*: a language necessarily contains more linguistic elements than other varieties, because it normally encompasses a range of local dialects, sociolects, and styles. However, it soon becomes obvious that there is no principled way to determine how big is big enough. Varieties that are commonly considered to be separate languages can range in size from hundreds of millions to only a handful of speakers, and may exhibit either a great deal of dialectal and other variation, or relatively little. For example, the language variety used in a single village may be considered a language in its own right if it is substantially different from other varieties. On the other hand, commonly recognized varieties such as British English and American English, each with a very large number of speakers, are normally viewed as two varieties of the same English language. Therefore, the most that can be said with regard to size is that, as a superordinate category, one can refer to Language X without necessarily making any reference to dialects or other varieties, but that reference to Dialect Y or Variety Z always implies the existence of other related varieties, which together are viewed as constituent parts of some language (Haugen 1966: 923).

Although size in the latter sense is clearly a consideration, *linguistic distance* (Ammon 1987: 320–4) plays a more important role. A language is a group of varieties that are closer or more similar to one another than they are to other varieties. Ideally, such groups will be clearly separated from other groups by a set of significantly different linguistic features (see Kloss's [1967] discussion of *Abstandsprachen*, or 'languages by distance'). For example, Hungarian has relatively little differentiation among its dialects (Kenesei et al. 1998: xxxii), and all of these are so obviously distinct from neighboring languages that it is possible to draw a clear-cut linguistic boundary. However, this situation is more the exception than the rule. Frequently we are faced with a sizable dialect continuum, where the transitions between neighboring varieties are gradual but the cumulative linguistic differences increase with geographical distance. Consequently, any possible grouping into two

or more distinct languages becomes problematic, even though the differences between dialects at the extremes of the continuum may be so great that they are intuitively felt to represent different languages. The South Slavic linguistic zone is a good example of this. Although this region is conventionally divided into a number of different languages, dialects on either side of these boundaries may be more similar to each other than to dialects belonging to the same language, as these are usually defined. For example, kajkavian dialects spoken in northern Croatia, which are normally identified as dialects of Croatian, are in many respects more similar to dialects spoken across the border in Slovenia than they are to čakavian and štokavian dialects spoken in other parts of Croatia, and Serbian Torlak dialects share features with dialects of Macedonian and Bulgarian.[2] As is the case with all dialect continua, the assignment of dialects to different languages often has more to do with political borders than with purely linguistic features.

The existence of dialect continua clearly presents a problem for determining what constitutes a separate language, but the idea of linguistic distance, of the degrees of similarity and difference between varieties, still plays a central role in all definitions. If this is to be used as an objective criterion, though, some way of measuring linguistic distance would be required. Linguistic distance can be considered from several different perspectives: historical, structural, or communicative. However, in each case we encounter serious obstacles to the creation of a scientifically defensible definition of what constitutes a language.

From the perspective of historical linguistics, the relationships between different varieties are viewed in genetic terms. Because language changes over time, a group of people speaking one variety may eventually become two or more groups speaking different varieties, and these latter varieties are seen as being directly descended from the same original source. These relationships can be represented in a tree diagram, analogous to a family tree for an individual. In theory, the degree of linguistic distance could be determined on the basis of these genetic relationships, and all the branches within a given subpart of the tree could be seen as constituting a language. However, the tree model of linguistic change represents an oversimplification of reality. Change does not involve neat bifurcations, which split languages into distinct varieties with clearly defined boundaries, but rather overlapping waves of innovation that may spread from a number of different centers. As a result, a language Variety X may share some innovations with Variety Y even when they are not descended directly from the same immediate ancestor.[3] Even if the family tree were an accurate representation of

genetic linguistic relationships, there is no principled way to determine the precise degree of genetic distance that would be acceptable for varieties to be considered parts of the same language. Just as importantly, this model does not tell us anything about the synchronic relationships between the varieties in question, which must also be taken into account.

Genetic distance is nonetheless important in that some degree of genetic relationship is required for different varieties to be subsumed under a single language. For example, there is a significant Hungarian minority living in Slovakia, and both Hungarian and Slovak dialects may be spoken in the same compact area, and in some sense could be seen as being used by the same speech community, but they are not considered parts of the same language because they are genetically unrelated.[4] However, the reason why some genetically related varieties are grouped together and others are not cannot be determined solely by the degree of genetic distance.

A purely structural determination of linguistic distance would involve a comparison of the contemporary grammatical systems and lexical stocks of different language varieties, and would thus establish relationships between varieties in synchronic rather than diachronic terms. A high degree of structural similarity normally implies a close genetic relationship, and this approach would seem to avoid some of the difficulties mentioned above. However, the idea of structural distance is also not as straightforward as it might initially seem. For example, two varieties that have noticeably different phonetic realizations of their vowel sounds might nonetheless be analyzed as having very similar underlying phonological relationships. On the other hand, two varieties that have the same number and type of grammatical cases for nouns, with similar formal marking of these cases, could at the same time have some systematic differences in the meaning or usage of these case forms. The separation of groups of varieties scientifically into distinct languages based on structural criteria would require detailed knowledge of each of the individual linguistic systems as well as a clearly defined methodology for evaluating the degree of similarity or difference at all levels of the grammar and for combining these measurements into some single comprehensive rating. Ammon (1987: 322–4) mentions a number of attempts that have been made to establish such a methodology, and concludes that they are of doubtful utility. Even if a valid methodology were established, any resulting groupings would still be artificial in nature, based on some arbitrary determination of acceptable degrees of similarity or difference, and dialect continua would continue to pose

an intractable problem. Furthermore, varieties that have traditionally been considered to belong to the same language in both scholarly and popular terms may exhibit substantial structural differences, so this type of classification could potentially differ from classifications that give greater weight to other criteria.

Given the problems in applying the criteria of size and linguistic distance, the concept of *mutual intelligibility* might then seem to be the clearest and most practical one for determining what constitutes a language: if you and I understand each other, then we are speaking the same language. However, on closer consideration this criterion also turns out to be difficult to apply objectively. Mutual comprehension is a gradient rather than a categorical phenomenon. Not only are there different degrees of comprehension, the amount of comprehension is not necessarily symmetrical. A speaker of Variety X may understand a speaker of Variety Y better than the speaker of Y understands the speaker of X, for a number of different reasons. As various studies have shown, the ability to comprehend a different language variety depends on the willingness of the recipient to understand, as well as the amount of knowledge the recipient has of the other variety, through previous passive exposure in the media or elsewhere, or through previous interactions with speakers of this variety. Personal and societal attitudes, such as the relative prestige accorded to the two varieties, also play a role. As a result, while it is possible to create objective tests to measure the degree of intelligibility between individual speakers (see Ammon 1987: 324–5), the mutual intelligibility of the varieties themselves cannot be determined directly (Hudson 1996: 35).

Mutual intelligibility is a prerequisite for the communicative function of language, which also presupposes the existence of a group of speakers who use the same language variety (or similar varieties), that is, a speech community.[5] To the extent that a variety can be identified with a distinct speech community, this offers another possible approach for defining concepts such as Language X or a dialect of Language X. In more specific terms, a speech community can be defined as 'any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage' (Gumperz 1968: 381). In addition to intercommunication, this definition makes reference to objective linguistic features, the common set of linguistic items that unite the given group of speakers and simultaneously distinguish them from other speech communities. As Gumperz later notes, members of a speech community in reality control a range of language varieties,

whose usage is governed by social attitudes and norms.[6] Other definitions of 'speech community' give priority instead to these attitudes and norms. According to Labov (1972: 120):

> The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.

On this interpretation, one can speak of a speech community in a much larger sense, which does not necessarily require direct interaction between its members; for example, a large metropolitan area or a broader geographical region could constitute a speech community. The individual speakers identify with the larger community through their shared linguistic attitudes and behaviors.

While this type of identification may be to a large extent below the level of consciousness, individual choice also plays a role. According to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 181), 'the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished'. Speech communities in this sense exist very much in the eye of the beholder. In addition to being groups that can be defined in terms of observable interactions, shared linguistic elements, and shared norms which can be inferred from behavior, they are also subjective concepts held by groups of speakers or even individuals. As with Benedict Anderson's famous description of a nation as an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983), that is, a sense of group identity that extends beyond an individual's own social networks or first-hand personal experience, speech communities can exist on a more abstract, 'imagined' level. The concept of an individual language can then perhaps be best defined in these terms: it is a complex of varieties used by a group of people who perceive themselves or are perceived by others as constituting a maximally sized linguistic community. In many cases this community is identified with a nation or nation-state, and the language is treated as a national language (most often also associated with a standardized variety; see below).[7]

Although this definition is admittedly subjective, it should be obvious by now that all of the terms discussed above are fluid concepts, which are impossible to define precisely on the basis of

purely objective criteria. Languages, dialects, and speech communities are clearly not real-world entities that are observable or potentially observable, despite the popular tendency to think of them as such. However, the same applies to other linguistic concepts, such as Chomsky's I-language, categories like 'noun' or 'verb', or specific items, such as the word 'dog' or the phoneme /d/. The reification of linguistic entities as 'things' is common in linguistic science as well as in popular usage, and while this may be a more or less inevitable result of the need for a convenient way of discussing these entities, linguists themselves often fail to consider their ontological status.[8] Languages, dialects, or speech communities are constructs, and as such they are no more or less 'real' than other constructs, like 'the word *dog*'. What is at issue, then, is whether or not they can be connected to real-world things or events and whether they have some explanatory value (Mulder and Rastall 2005: 37).

Despite the difficulty in defining them, the concepts that we are concerned with here do meet the latter criteria. For all varieties posited beyond the level of the system internalized by an individual speaker (or all types of E-language, in Chomsky's terms), there are identifiable sets of linguistic elements that are associated with identifiable social groups, although the boundaries in both instances may be fuzzy. At the most abstract level of a language as a large complex of interrelated varieties, there is still some significant degree of overlap among these sets of linguistic elements. Linguistics as a science is concerned with types and universals, not just isolated speech events, and the use of terms like 'dialect' or 'language' or 'speech community' is justified in order to be able to make generalizations about the linguistic behavior of groups of people. From a sociolinguistic point of view, varieties such as dialects, sociolects, styles or registers, and languages are certainly valid scientific concepts, which are all important for the study of the relationships between language and social structures. They can be identified with groups of speakers who share sets of norms and attitudes, which influence their linguistic behavior. And while the assignment of varieties to one language or another is usually based in part on subjective or even non-linguistic criteria, for the purposes of scientific classification linguistic facts must also be taken into account. There must be some degree of genetic relationship, some degree of structural similarity, and some meaningful degree of mutual intelligibility.

At the same time, arguments that two varieties are 'really' the same language merely on the basis of their demonstrable descent from a common source, similarity of grammar and vocabulary, or the ability

of speakers to communicate with each other are not particularly meaningful for the actual functioning of language in its social context. Sociolinguistic research must take into account the shared attitudes and norms accepted by speakers (including their view of the boundaries of the varieties they use and the speech communities in which they participate), and try to understand the ways that these factors influence linguistic behaviors. However, since languages, dialects, and speech communities are constructs, for the purposes of linguistic study one might also wish to make reference to different sets of varieties or groups of speakers, if such constructs have some explanatory value. One approach does not necessarily exclude the other, since languages are not concrete 'things' which exist independently of human cognition.

Standard varieties

A standard language is really just one variety of a given language, if the latter is seen as a maximally sized complex of interrelated varieties, as suggested above; for example, standard French is a variety of the French language. Although 'standard variety' would in this sense be a more accurate term, 'standard language' is more commonly used. One could argue against the latter usage since it may contribute to the popular misconceptions that a standard variety represents the totality of a given language, or that it is the only legitimate version of a language (see below), but on the other hand it does convey the idea that a standard language is also a superordinate category, since it too represents a complex of subvarieties.[9] Another older term that is still often used, particularly with respect to the Slavic languages, is 'literary language'. This reflects in part the role of artistic literature as an influential model for the norms of the standard language, but 'literature' also refers to written materials in general, so that this label can also be interpreted as the equivalent of 'written language' (compare the German term *Schriftsprache*). Given the possible ambiguity of these latter terms, 'standard language' or 'standard variety' are generally preferred (see Brozović 1970: 14–18; Auty 1978: 192–3).[10]

Standard languages are associated with a number of characteristics, as can be seen in various definitions of this concept. In the most basic terms, a standard language is 'a prestige variety, used as an institutionalized norm in a community' (Crystal 1987: 430). Other definitions associate it with certain societal needs and conditions; for example, according to Garvin (1993: 41), a standard language is 'a codified variety of a language that serves the multiple and complex communicative

needs of a speech community that has either achieved modernization or has the desire of achieving it'. Brozović (1970: 28) goes further, saying that a standard language is an 'autonomous form of language, always standardized and functionally polyvalent, which emerges because an ethnic or national formation, having entered into international civilization, begins in this context to use its idiom, which had previously functioned only for the needs of the ethnic civilization'. Many of the characteristics that feature in current definitions of a standard language were discussed already by linguists of the Prague School, who were the first to deal with these issues from a systematic linguistic point of view in their attempts to formulate a way for language standardization and language culture to be a part of modern structuralist linguistics.[11] The ones most commonly cited are: (1) autonomy; (2) a codified norm; (3) elastic stability; and (4) polyfunctionality.

A standard language is an autonomous linguistic system, distinct from local/regional dialects or sociolects. It may be based on an existing prestige variety, such as the one used in the capital city or by members of the ruling class, or it may be based on the linguistic practices of influential texts of an earlier period. By virtue of its use as a common language for a large linguistic community, however, it tends to incorporate features of other varieties as well. In this sense, a standard language is something that is learned in school and/or by conscious imitation of written or spoken models, and not something that it is acquired like one's native variety; a standard language is native to no one (Joseph 1987: 17). This is most obviously true in the case of diglossia, where one highly codified variety is used for formal written or spoken purposes, but very different varieties are used by all members of the society for everyday communication; examples of this would be Modern Standard Arabic versus the varieties of colloquial Arabic used in the various Arabic-speaking countries, the distinction between katharevousa and demotiki in Greece, or standard versus colloquial Czech (see Ferguson 1959). However, the same applies even to languages such as English, where the standard variety is much closer to some spoken varieties used in everyday contexts. Although children born into well-educated families may acquire something approximating the standard language at home and in other social situations, what they acquire is arguably never identical to the standard language in all respects, and they still must be explicitly educated about the full range of its norms.

The idea of the autonomy of the standard language with respect to non-standard varieties is not new, although it has been used somewhat differently by different authors. The German grammarian Johann

Christoph Adelung (1732–1806) already referred to the autonomy of High German (Hochdeutsch), which he saw as being based solely on the usage of the upper classes in southern Saxony and completely separate from other varieties (Ammon 1987: 325). Saussure (1966 [1916]: 21, 195–6) spoke of the standard language as an artificial creation, which is distinct from natural dialects due to its composite nature, the result of the incorporation of elements from multiple varieties and the development of specialized styles. Brozović understands autonomy to be the result of the gradual, independent development of the standard language, which has made it distinct from what he refers to as 'organic' idioms, and sees any attempts to consciously manipulate the standard, particularly to bring it closer to other varieties, as a threat to its autonomy (1970: 35, 43). Brozović's interpretation of autonomy is clearly conditioned by the specific linguistic situation in the former Yugoslavia (see Chapter 4).

Another feature of a standard language is the existence of an explicit, codified norm. This implies that there must be some entity or entities that exert control over the norms of the standard language, generally through the publication of grammars, dictionaries, and usage guides, as well as by other means. In some cases a dominant individual or individuals will publish grammars or dictionaries that come to be accepted as authoritative by members of the language community, in what Joseph (1987: 113) has labeled a 'free-enterprise situation'. This is characteristic of English, where the dictionary published by Samuel Johnson and the textbooks and dictionaries of Noah Webster played a decisive role in the standardization of British and American English, respectively. Language academies, with memberships consisting of leading writers and other intellectuals, may be formed in order to systematize and lend greater authority to such individual efforts. Prominent examples are the Accademia della Crusca, the Académie française, and the Real Academia Española. The government also typically plays a role, most often through the educational system, but also sometimes through direct legislation on linguistic matters, financial support of language academies, or the creation of separate governmental institutions to deal specifically with linguistic issues.[12]

The existence of a codified norm ensures that a standard language is more stable than other varieties. The process of codification entails the identification of preferred forms and the elimination or restriction of dispreferred variants, and the authority of published grammars, dictionaries, and a body of texts written in the standard variety serves as a conservative counterweight that slows the natural processes of language

change. The stability of a standard language allows it to serve the needs of the entire linguistic community, which may cover a relatively large geographical area, and also provides for historical continuity, ensuring that texts written over a significant period of time remain accessible to the members of the language community. At the same time, however, the norms of the standard language should not be too rigid. If the standard is too conservative, it becomes progressively more and more distant from other, primarily spoken varieties, eventually resulting in a situation of diglossia. The standard must also be open to new elements that will allow it to meet the changing needs of the language community. This necessary tension between the competing demands for permanence and change required by a standard language was termed by the linguists of the Prague School as 'elastic stability' (see Garvin 1973: 27; Mathesius 1976 [1932]: 89).

Another important feature of a fully developed standard language is its polyfunctionality. A standard language must be able to fulfill communicative functions in all spheres of human activity, ranging from scientific texts to routine daily interactions relating to basic human needs, and it must allow its users to express complex and/or abstract ideas in a precise manner. This pertains primarily to the lexicon, which must be enlarged through the development of necessary intellectual vocabulary, but may also require the elaboration of syntactic structures. The development of conventional means of expressing ideas in specific situations results in the formation of different functional styles appropriate to different contexts (see Havránek 1976a [1932]: 111ff.). The combination of stability and polyfunctionality inherent to a standard language has often been expressed by the dictum 'minimal variation in form, maximal variation in function' (for example, Haugen 1966: 931).

The differences between a standard language and other varieties are essentially quantitative rather than qualitative (Havránek 1976b [1936]: 144). Without norms of linguistic behavior, no communication would be possible, so every language variety necessarily possesses a set of norms. These norms must also exhibit a certain degree of stability to enable communication, so 'elastic stability' could also be seen as a characteristic of all language varieties (see Garvin 1973: 28). However, the norms of naturally acquired language varieties are largely unconscious in nature, while those of a standard language are consciously developed and explicitly codified. This difference has been described by some Croatian linguists as a distinction between the norm of usage (*uzusna/uporabna/upotrebna norma*) and the codified or prescriptive norm (*kodifikacijska norma*; see, for example, Babić 1999 [1976]: 184; Brozović 1999

[1980]: 141). The norms of a standard language are not determined by usage alone; they are also subject to external influences or conscious intervention, and a standard language may contain elements that are only rarely used (Havránek 1976a [1932]: 105, 110; see also below). Because of their conscious nature, the norms of the standard language are also more obligatory. By definition, usage that conforms to the codified norms is standard, while everything else is considered non-standard (and often referred to more pejoratively as 'substandard'). The standard language is therefore less tolerant of variation than other varieties. Likewise, all varieties possess a range of linguistic resources whose usage is dependent on the specific situation, but in a standard language the different functional resources are more richly developed and more clearly differentiated. This greater functional differentiation is due to the fact that the standard language is used for a much broader range of purposes than are other varieties. Even the factor of prestige is not unique to standard varieties; non-literate speech communities are also aware of variation in usage and make qualitative judgments about language (see Joseph 1987: 4).

Some linguists have questioned whether or not the informal spoken usage of educated individuals should be considered part of the standard language. In other words, is there a conversational or colloquial functional style within the standard language? In many instances the prevailing concept of the standard language is based primarily on formal written texts and is independent from less formal spoken varieties, as Kalogjera (2008: 75) has asserted is true for Croatian. Milroy and Milroy (1985: 26) state that in the strictest sense of the term, there is 'no such entity as a standard spoken language'. It is true that the norms of this everyday spoken language are less well defined than those of more formal written/spoken styles. They are usually not explicitly codified, and there is more variation, including the use of elements of local dialects and other forms that are excluded from other styles. At the same time, the conversational standard variety is also distinct from other varieties, sharing the same core grammatical structure and lexicon as other, primarily written styles of the standard language, and it serves as a lingua franca for speakers of different dialects in everyday contexts. The Prague School theorists explicitly considered this everyday spoken language (*obecný jazyk, Alltagssprache*) to be an integral part of the standard (see Havránek 1976a [1932]: 112).

Despite the existence of a codified norm, in the form of grammars, dictionaries, and other handbooks, the standard language cannot be defined exclusively in terms of the linguistic patterns and lexical items

contained in these works (Ammon 1987: 328). All varieties of language change over time, and the codex of the standard variety may contain elements that are obsolete, or may not include new elements that have entered into standard usage. The various sources that are considered authoritative for the standard cannot include all elements of the language, and they sometimes disagree with one another about the standard status of individual forms, or their stylistic value, morphology, spelling, pronunciation, and so on. The spoken form of the standard is usually not explicitly codified, as mentioned above. Therefore, the description of standardization given by Milroy and Milroy (1985) in reference to the spoken language can in fact be applied to the standard language as a whole; they point out that absolute standardization is never achieved and suggest that 'it seems appropriate to speak more abstractly of standardisation as an *ideology*, and a standard language as an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent' (1985: 22–3). Similarly, Joseph (1987: 160–1) writes of the standard as an 'ideal', a goal that actual usage never perfectly meets. Perhaps in recognition of this reality, Croatian linguists writing about the standard language often appeal to the notion of a 'feeling for the language' (*jezični osjećaj*, already mentioned in Chapter 1), the intuition on the part of users as to what belongs in the standard language, and what is not a part of this standard.[13] To quote Milroy and Milroy again, a standard language 'depends on acceptance (mainly by the most influential people) of a common core of linguistic conventions, and a good deal of fuzziness remains around the edges' (1985: 26).

The ideology of standard languages often leads to mistaken ideas about the nature of language itself. As we have seen, a standard language resists precise definition, just like other varieties of language. However, the existence of a codified norm in the concrete form of grammars and dictionaries leads people to think that it is a well-defined entity. The standard as an ideal is viewed as intrinsically 'better' than other varieties. Because of its conservative nature, it is often considered to represent the purest and/or original form of a language, with other varieties seen as 'degenerate' forms that have deviated from this ideal norm rather than as autonomous and equally valid linguistic systems. There is a tendency to think that there is only one correct way of writing or speaking (a view that may not even recognize the functional differentiation of elements that properly belong to the standard), that people 'ought to use the standard language', and that non-standard usage is a 'sign of stupidity, ignorance, perversity, moral degeneracy,

etc.' (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 40). Thus, the standard language is seen as the only legitimate variety of a given language, and is equated with the language (in a broader sense) itself.

In addition to serving as a tool of communication, language also functions as a symbol of group identity; it unifies the members of the in-group and separates them from members of other groups (see 'Identity and language' below). Because of its prestige and the common perception that it is a well-defined entity, a standard language excels at fulfilling this symbolic function. As has been noted by more than one linguist, this is part of the meaning of 'standard' itself. Although its use in the phrase 'standard language' derives from the meaning of 'an acknowledged measure of comparison for quantitative or qualitative value', the primary meaning of 'standard' is 'a flag, banner or ensign', for example 'an emblem or flag of an army, raised on a pole to indicate the rallying point in battle' (*American Heritage College Dictionary* 1997; see Crowley 2003: 77–8). The specific linguistic features of the standard language are often chosen so as to be broadly acceptable to the widest possible community of users, so that it can serve as a common norm for this group. At the same time, elements for the standard language are also often chosen so as to be distinctive, to clearly demarcate it from other languages.

Since the development of a standard language generally requires a certain social and political framework to support it, standard languages tend to be identified with states. The codification of a standard language where none existed before may be part of the quest for political autonomy by a group of people. As Fishman points out (1972: 58), a vernacular must be codified and elaborated to at least some degree before it can serve 'the unifying, authenticating, and activating purposes of nationalism or other mass movements'. The existence of a fully developed standard language, which can fulfill the same functions as other prestige varieties, can be employed to support the argument that the people who use this language deserve the same rights and privileges as other developed societies that have already achieved political recognition. As Eastman (1983: 72) says, 'a standard language endows the speech community it represents with prestige.'

Although standard languages are often identified with independent nation-states, a single standard language may also be used by more than one nation, as is the case with English or German, for example. Although there may be differences in the norms used within each state, if these differences are minor they are usually considered to represent different standard varieties of the same language (for example,

American English and British English), and one may speak of a polycentric standard (see Kloss 1967: 31). However, we must keep in mind the fact that there are no objective, purely linguistic criteria for delimiting individual languages, as discussed above, and this applies equally to standard varieties. The norms of standard English as it is used in the United Kingdom, America, Canada, India, Australia, New Zealand, or elsewhere are not identical, and there is no authority that could enforce the adoption of a single set of norms. The fact that these countries use what are considered to be different standard varieties of a single English language as opposed to separate standard languages cannot be based purely on the linguistic similarities and differences among these varieties, but rather depends at least in part on extra-linguistic factors. It reflects a desire on the part of these different language communities to maintain some sense of a shared linguistic-cultural identity (see Joseph 1987: 170–1). Where no such desire for a common linguistic-cultural identity exists, there can be no justification for insisting on the existence of a polycentric standard language as opposed to two or more independent standard languages. This, we argue, is the case with Croatian and other closely related standard varieties previously subsumed under the label 'Serbo-Croatian'.

Language planning

The development of a standard language necessarily involves conscious choices and efforts to implement those choices on a societal scale, a process that has been labeled 'language planning' (Haugen 1959).[14] More precisely, language planning can be defined as 'deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes' (Cooper 1989: 45). Although language planning research is 'future-oriented' (Eastman 1983: 3), in the sense that its goal is to understand how to effectively bring about language change and to assist in the formation, implementation, and evaluation of language policies, it has proven to be difficult to come up with a true theory of language planning. The scale of language planning endeavors and the multiplicity of variables that are involved make it difficult to formulate and test hypotheses, and the models of language planning that have been proposed are largely descriptive in nature (Haugen 1983: 276). Even from a descriptive point of view, the models are necessarily idealized, and the separate stages or components that are posited may actually overlap. However, they can still provide a useful framework for understanding the different aspects

of the standardization process. We should also note that in this respect, too, the differences between a standard language and other varieties are essentially ones of degree, not of kind. As mentioned above, the evaluation and choice of variants also occurs in non-standard varieties, and speakers consciously or unconsciously adapt their own usage toward that of other speakers who are prestigious or with whom they want to identify for some other reason. Language planning, as it is usually understood, is both more deliberate and more extensive in its intended reach, but it should not be viewed as something totally separate from natural linguistic change (see Ferguson 1983).

One influential model for understanding language-planning activities divides them into two broad spheres: status planning and corpus planning (Kloss 1969). Status planning involves decisions regarding the status of one language variety in relation to others, and may involve the designation of different language varieties for specific functions (see Cooper 1989: 32). Corpus planning involves decisions as to the actual form of the language itself; that is, its orthography, grammar, and lexicon. Haugen (1966) described language planning in terms of a four-part matrix which he sees as compatible with Kloss's distinctions (Haugen 1983: 272). His revised model incorporates the latter, as well as contributions from other theorists. A simplified version is given in Table 2.1. Haugen points out that while the steps in his model follow a certain logical progression – (1) Selection; (2) Codification; (3) Acceptance/Implementation; (4) Elaboration) – they are necessarily interconnected and may therefore occur simultaneously and cyclically (1983: 270).

As has been noted by a number of scholars, language planning takes place when speakers feel that the current linguistic situation is unsatisfactory for some reason, and in most cases language-planning activities are focused on achieving goals that are not primarily linguistic in nature (Cooper 1989: 34–5). Selection involves the choice of a language variety to serve communicative functions that were previously filled by

Table 2.1 Matrix of language-planning processes

	Form	**Function**
Society *(status planning)*	Selection *(decision procedures)*	Acceptance/ Implementation *(educational spread)*
Language *(corpus planning)*	Codification *(standardization procedures)*	Elaboration *(functional development)*

Source: Adapted from Haugen (1983: 275).

some other variety, or to meet new needs such as national integration, political control, economic development, and so on. An individual dialect may emerge to serve as the basis of the language of a broader community because of particular historical, political or economic circumstances, without any noticeable overt efforts to promote its adoption or any significant debate; such was the case with the emergence of the East Midlands dialect (also incorporating some northern features) as the basis of modern standard English (see Crystal 2004). In other cases, a dialect is intentionally chosen by individuals or groups. The dialect of choice is commonly the one spoken by those with the greatest political or economic power, but a dialect may also be selected because it is spoken by a majority of the community whom those involved in language planning wish to unify, because it is thought to be the most easily understood by speakers of other dialects, because it is maximally different from neighboring languages, because of its historical or literary associations, or for other reasons. The selection of a dialectal base may be a source of great controversy, with different groups advocating different choices. In addition, an emerging language may be in competition with an older standard language previously used in the community, and there may be considerable resistance to this change. In some instances, a new variety incorporating features of several existing dialects may also be engineered in order to avert or resolve such factionalism.

Although a norm may evolve gradually on its own through the consolidation of written practices under the influence of texts that are taken as models, the development of a true standard language requires the explicit codification of these norms. This may again be the result of the work of isolated individuals or groups of people, with or without the direct support of political authorities. The process of defining the actual shape of the language involves choosing between competing variants in terms of spelling, grammatical forms, and lexical items, and a number of criteria may be used in making these choices. As mentioned above, the standard may be based on the usage of the highest social classes or the speakers of a particular dialect that is considered to be 'the best' form of the language. Literature is another source of authority, with choices determined by the usage of the most respected authors. Language planners may also appeal to logical criteria or consistency in making arguments for the selection of one variant over another. Linguistic purism, the exclusion of elements that are felt to be undesirable for some reason, often plays a role in the codification process (see Chapter 8 for further discussion). The concrete results of codification are the publication of prescriptive orthographies, grammars, and dictionaries. For any

living language, codification is an ongoing process; for example, standardized spelling and grammar may later be revised to reflect changes in the sound system or morphology of spoken varieties of the language, and new words must be introduced to express new concepts.

Haugen initially labeled the third component of his model as 'acceptance', later replacing this with 'implementation'. Each of these terms reflects important aspects of this process, so we have listed both in Table 2.1. For a standard language to fulfill its communicative and extra-linguistic functions, it must be accepted by the speech community. Language planning may involve a certain 'marketing' aspect, where individuals or groups encourage members of the speech community to adopt the variety selected as the basis of the standard language and to accept the codified norms. Emerging standards have often been promoted by the writing of 'defenses', pamphlets or books that exemplify the language and extoll its virtues, such as Joachim du Bellay's (1549) *La Deffence, et Illustration de la Langue Françoyse* (Joseph 1987: 61) or the *Diálogo de la lengua* (1535–1536) by Juan de Valdés (Joseph 2004: 103). The development of publishing influenced the rise of standard languages in Europe; for practical economic reasons, publishers needed to be able to print works in a language variety that could reach the broadest possible audience, and printed books, pamphlets, and newspapers furthered the spread of the emerging standard languages (see Anderson 1983). Both print and broadcast media continue to play an important role in the development and cultivation of standard languages today, by serving as influential models of correct usage and through articles and broadcasts explicitly devoted to linguistic issues. Where political authorities have some control over the media, they may be used in this way to implement governmental language policies.

'Implementation' seems the most apt term when a standard language is supported by a governmental structure with the power to mandate and enforce its usage. A language can be declared as the official or national language, and its usage in public spheres may be required by laws or regulations. Probably the most important component in the official promulgation of a standard language is the educational system. In modern societies, this is the primary means of teaching the norms of the standard language, since it is usually both an object of study in its own right and the medium of instruction for other subjects.

Elaboration is essentially a continuation and expansion of the codification process. It is seen as characteristic of 'developed' rather than 'developing' societies, and encompasses what other linguists have referred to as 'cultivation' (Haugen 1983: 273). Elaboration includes

the creation of new scientific and technical terminology, and may also involve the development of new grammatical (primarily syntactic) structures to allow for the more concise expression of complex ideas. Additionally, it entails the development of different styles of language appropriate to different situations.

Another useful way of looking at language policy and planning is in terms of the scale of the activity and the actors involved. A number of researchers have suggested that language planning occurs at several levels: macro, meso, and micro (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: 52). Czerwiński (2005) offers the model in Table 2.2, which can be fruitfully applied to the Croatian context.

Table 2.2 Levels of language policy/planning

MACRO Language policy *de iure*	GOVERNMENT Legislative and policy-making bodies
MICRO Language planning/ Normative policy	ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS Academy of Sciences, research institutes, universities SCHOLARLY LITERATURE Dictionaries, handbooks, articles COMMUNICATION WITH SOCIETY Discourse in mass media, naturalization of linguistic behavior

Source: Czerwiński (2005: 37).

As with other models of language planning, there is some overlap in these levels in practice, but we follow a similar scheme in the organization of the second part of the book.

Language and identity

In one of the first works to critically examine and synthesize different disciplinary approaches to language and identity, Edwards (1985: 3) states that 'sociolinguistics [...] is essentially about identity, its formation, presentation, and maintenance'. However, in its earliest period, sociolinguistic research usually did not explicitly address the issue of identity itself, and even more recent work often focuses on the correlation of linguistic features with certain types of identity, which are simply assumed to exist. Although one might reasonably look to other disciplines where identity is also a central concept (such as anthropology, psychology, or sociology) for a coherent theoretical framework that

could be used to understand the nature of identity and its relationship to language, no such unified theory exists. This is partly due to the fact that different disciplines approach the topic of identity from different perspectives, but also because identity poses such a complex and intractable problem. Our intent here is not to give a comprehensive overview of the topic, much less to break any new theoretical ground, but simply to discuss some basic concepts that will be useful for understanding language and identity in the Croatian context.[15]

At the most basic level, identity involves two contradictory components, uniqueness and sameness, which nevertheless are inextricably intertwined. Identity represents the conscious psychological awareness that a person has of himself or herself as a unique individual. Probably the most influential theorist of identity from this perspective is Erik Erikson, who spoke of the formation of identity as a consolidation or assimilation of childhood identifications and experiences into a unified sense of self, which is recognized and accepted both by the individual and by society (see, for example, Erikson 1963, 1980). At the same time, identity also refers to the characteristics that individuals share with other people, the ways in which they are similar to others and the groups to which they belong. This idea of social or group identity is a central concern of sociolinguistics, but it cannot be completely separated from individual identity. A person's concept of self derives in part from this sense of membership in different groups. Consequently, social identity has been defined as 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups), together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel 1978, cited by Joseph 2004: 76).

Tajfel's Social Identity Theory has been extremely influential in linguistic approaches to identity. According to this model, individuals categorize both themselves and others as members of various social groups. They are aware of their status as members of their own group (the ingroup) with respect to members of another group (the outgroup), and their attitudes and behaviors tend to be biased towards the ingroup and against the outgroup. The positive or negative evaluations of the ingroup and outgroup contribute to the formation of social identity, and individuals are motivated by the desire for positive self-esteem, which can be achieved through the creation and maintenance of a distinctive social identity associated with positive values (see Oakes 2001: 35). An important aspect of Social Identity Theory is that it considers the social myths or ideologies that groups create for themselves, as well as the stereotypes that they apply to

members of outgroups, to be significant components of identity (Joseph 2004: 76).

In everyday life, identity is often viewed as a given; individual traits are commonly seen as the inevitable result of experiences and circumstances, in combination with one's own psychological predispositions, and categorizations into various groups are thought of as being based on objective facts. In contrast, theoretical approaches to identity emphasize that identity is something that is subjective and socially constructed. For example, identities such as gender or race are typically thought to be based on obvious physical characteristics, but this is not as straightforward as it first appears. Some individuals feel that their true gender is different from their biological sex; and on the other hand, what are seen as typically male or female attributes and behaviors (that is, what it 'means' to be male or female) vary among different cultures. The same is true for race or ethnicity: a person may not necessarily share physical or other characteristics associated with the group with which he or she identifies.

Although identities are things that individuals construct for themselves as part of their normal psychological development, this is not something that takes place in a vacuum as a purely internal process; rather, it is the result of social interactions. According to Burkitt (1991: 215, cited by Riley 2007: 82–3):

> The self is social in its entirety. Only if we begin from the study of social relations can we truly understand how individuals are social selves ... social life is the source of individuality and human beings only develop as truly human within a social context.

It is important to note in this respect that not only do we construct identities for ourselves, but we also construct identities for others, and others construct identities for us. The potential conflict between self-constructed and other-constructed identity can also play a part in an individual's sense of self, and one's behavior in any given situation is influenced by the identities constructed for oneself and others. As a result, individuals have multiple, overlapping identities, not just in terms of their different social identities as members of various groups, but in terms of the identities that others construct for them as well as the different roles that an individual may assume in different situations. It also becomes obvious that identity is not something that is fixed, but rather is something that changes in different contexts and continues to grow and develop over an individual's lifetime.

Identity is intimately connected with language, and one can even argue that identity can be understood as essentially linguistic in nature (Joseph 2004: 12). In the first place, people identify themselves and others by their names and by expressions that signify different aspects of their social identities, such as student, teacher, parent, child, liberal, conservative, and so on. All of these categories are encoded in language, and to some extent are both language- and culture-specific. According to scholars such as Bourdieu (1991), claims of identity are performative in nature, and it could be said that '[a]n identity exists by virtue of the assertions of it people make' (Joseph 2004: 20). In everyday communication we make rapid and often quite subtle judgments about the identity of others based on their language, as confirmed by language attitude research, and the discipline of sociolinguistics is founded on the concept that identifiable social groups tend to share common linguistic features. Studies also show that people (often unconsciously) adapt their language according to the situation and their interlocutors, thereby simultaneously expressing aspects of their own identity and acknowledging the identity of others. As suggested by Joseph (2004), identity can be seen as a central function of language which cannot be separated from the functions of representation and communication which have traditionally been seen as essential:

> A full account of linguistic representation would have to include how the identity of the speakers is manifested by them and read by others; it would have to recognise that the speakers themselves are part of the meaning, represented within the representation. A full account of linguistic communication would have to start with, not a message, but again the speakers themselves, and their reading of each other that determines, interactively, their interpretation of what is said. (Joseph 2004: 22)

From an evolutionary perspective, Joseph asserts that language developed out of a general quality of 'semiotic receptivity' shared by humans and animals, and that it exists 'for the purpose of *reading the speaker*' (2004: 30).

A central focus of research on language and identity has been the role of language in the construction of ethnic and/or national identity. Scholars have long struggled to provide adequate definitions for these terms, and in particular to differentiate between them, because they represent complex concepts and are used with a variety of closely related and partially overlapping meanings. Both ethnic and national identity

are commonly viewed as inherited, as something 'imposed' on people from birth (Joseph 2004: 93–4), and the world is understood from this naive perspective to consist of distinct ethnic groups and nations which are naturally defined. Language is often seen as a fundamental, objective characteristic which can be used to unequivocally define different ethnic or national groups, one that is perhaps more immutable and distinctive than other features. However, as we have already seen, this view of language as a primordial reality is itself problematic.

Ethnic identity refers to a sense of membership in a group that is connected by common bonds which are believed to derive ultimately from the common ancestry of its members. In popular usage, the adjective 'ethnic' is frequently reserved for minority groups, but majority groups can obviously be defined according to the same criteria; consequently, in scholarship, it is usual to use 'ethnic identity' in reference to both minorities and majorities. Although there normally must be some identifiable features that the group shares in terms of its cultural practices and values, the sense of boundaries between the ingroup and other groups is equally or even more important than the cultural content of the group itself, which may change over time (see Barth 1969). In addition, the common descent of the group is something that is presumed rather than being provable. Consequently, ethnic identity represents a combination of objective and subjective elements. A formal definition that takes all these factors into account has been proposed by Edwards (1985: 10):

> Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group – large or small, socially dominant or subordinate – with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialisation or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of 'groupness', or by some combination of both.[16]

The term 'nation' derives etymologically from Latin *nātiō* 'being born, birth'; it refers to a group of people with a shared origin (an extension of the original meaning already present in Latin), and in this sense is essentially equivalent to an ethnic group. However, it is more often used in the further expanded sense of a group of people inhabiting a defined territory and organized under a single, usually independent, government. Depending on whether the emphasis is placed on shared origins or on allegiance to a state, 'ethnic identity' and 'national identity' can

potentially stand in different relationships to each other. For example, national identity has been defined by some as an extension of ethnic identity: existing ethnic groups may become nations if they develop the necessary level of social organization and a desire for political autonomy. On the other hand, national identity may be formed primarily on the basis of the state, with ethnic identity functioning either as a subordinate or superordinate category of identity, which may compete with national identity.

Because of these different bases for the formation of national identity, scholars often draw a distinction between two different types of nation. One formulation refers to ethnic nations, founded on the ethnic principle of *jus sanguinis* ('blood right'), versus civic nations, founded on the territorial principle of *jus soli* ('soil right'; Kohn 1955), and citizenship rights in the nation may be determined primarily on these principles. As examples, one can cite Germany, where citizenship is offered to individuals with at least one German parent and to certain others of German ancestry, regardless of where they were born; and the United States, where someone born on the territory of the country normally becomes a citizen automatically. In nations of the former type, members are united around the shared history and culture of their ethnic group, which is identified with the state itself, while in nations of the latter type, members are united around shared civic principles, laws, and the rights of individuals, regardless of their ethnic origin (see Oakes 2001: 12).

A different formulation, which focuses on the historical origin of the nation, but is generally congruent with the ethnic/civic typology above, distinguishes between nation-states and state-nations. The ideology of nationalism is generally thought to be a relatively recent (and primarily European) development, dating from the late 18th or early 19th century (see Kedourie 1960; Kohn 1961). In parts of western Europe, the state was already well established before the rise of modern mass nationalism, and while these states may have been more or less ethnically homogeneous, here the polity played the primary role in the formation of national identity (Fishman 1972: 24); consequently, they are referred to as state-nations. On the other hand, in central and eastern Europe the awakening of national consciousness preceded the formation of political entities organized around the principle of nationality, and these are termed nation-states. Within this group, western intellectuals drew a distinction between so-called 'historic peoples', those who had in the past possessed states of their own and thus could more easily fit into the western European model of national identity, and 'peoples

without history', who were typically smaller, less unified groups seen as lacking any historical claim to statehood (Fishman 1972: 26).

Although these different models of national identity are useful for understanding the nature and development of national consciousness in different contexts, nations as states invariably combine aspects of the two. An absolute overlap between the ethnic nation and the state, where only members of the ethnic group inhabit the territory of the state and none of the lands traditionally inhabited by members of this group lie outside its borders, can only be considered a dystopian ideal (Joseph 2004: 92). Nations of the primarily ethnic type often offer rights to minority groups in the way that civic nations do, and members of minorities in such states may exhibit a sense of (partial) national identity with the dominant ethnic group. At the same time, civic nations often maintain or develop features similar to those of ethnic nations (Oakes 2001: 13). According to Schnapper:

> It appears inevitable that, to ensure its existence and vitality, the nation constructs and maintains elements of an ethnic nature. Paradoxically, in order to create a civic nation, which is based on rational principles, as rightly noted by Ernest Gellner, nationalists invoke ethnic arguments, race, language, religion or culture and contribute to their creation or maintenance. Nations have always reinvented a set of myths and ethnic values, they need a sacred territory, heroes and a golden age; in short, they give rise to a form of ethnicity, which generates amongst nationals the feeling of their belonging to the collective. Invention of tradition is a condition for the existence of all nations. (Schnapper 1994: 80–1, translated by Oakes 2001: 13)

From this perspective, national identity and ethnic identity are indistinguishable in most respects. The only significant differences are that national identity is typically associated with a territory and an organized state, and that there is no requirement that the members of the group be related by a real or presumed common ancestry. As with other group identities, we should bear in mind that national and ethnic identity are abstract concepts which cannot exist apart from the individuals who possess them. National identity is difficult to define in part because it may mean something different to each individual, who may enact this identity in different ways depending on the context, and who may change their individual concept of it over time (see Oakes 2001: 39).

The concept of nation has been described famously by Anderson (1983) as an 'imagined community'. He explains that:

> It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. [...] it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings. (Anderson 1983: 15–16)

Despite its 'imaginary' nature, however, the nation is simultaneously 'real'. Although it is constructed, like other aspects of identity, it is real because people think of it as such (see also Bourdieu 1991: 221). When understood in this way, constructionist versus essentialist approaches to identity are not entirely contradictory, since 'constructing an identity is in fact constructing an essence' (Joseph 2004: 90).

Even though the nation is invented, the power of national identity lies in the fact that is seen as a natural entity. According to Kedourie, the 'doctrine' of nationalism is a 19th-century European invention, which 'holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government' (Kedourie 1960: 9). Particularly influential in this doctrine of nationalism is the idea that national languages are primordial entities which define nations. Fichte in his 'Addresses to the German Nation' (1808) stated that 'it is true beyond doubt that wherever a separate language is found, there a separate nation exists' (Fichte 1922: 215; see Fishman 1972: 49 for additional examples).

Language fulfills several important functions with respect to national identity. Group identities are built around a set of characteristics, values, or beliefs that are shared with others and create a sense of community, but at the same time are also built around the crucial sense that those who are not members of this ingroup are different because they do not share these features. Language operates in both of these ways: as a means of intercommunication it helps to bind the ingroup together, and the use of a distinctive speech variety separates the members of the ingroup from outsiders. In addition, language often becomes a component of positive self-esteem through the perpetuation of myths

about the language; for example, that one's language is more beautiful, expressive, logical, clear, or powerful than other languages (see Fishman 1972: 63–6). Nationalist movements often look to a 'glorious past' to enhance the present stature of the nation, or to justify claims to political autonomy, and language is seen as a direct connection between the speech community of today and its ancestors. Language is a (seemingly) tangible proof of the authenticity of the nation. It has been seen as a direct expression of the 'soul' of the nation itself. And products of language, such as history, legends, folklore, proverbs and sayings, and literature, are potent symbols of national identity. According to Herder:

> Has a nation anything more precious than the language of its fathers? In it dwell its entire world of tradition, history, religion, principles of existence; its whole heart and soul. (trans. Berlin 1976: 165)

Thus, as described by Fishman (1972), language is simultaneously the medium and the message of nationalism.

Conclusion

Definitions of what constitutes a language and the characteristics and development of standard languages lie at the center of debates over the status and norms of Croatian. We will consider the specific linguistic features of Croatian in the light of the discussion above in the following chapter. The historical development of standard Croatian in the 19th and 20th centuries will also be discussed to provide a background for efforts in the areas of status and corpus planning in the period since Croatian independence. As mentioned above, we will focus on the institutions and individuals involved in the different levels of language policy and planning outlined in Table 2.2, and will attempt to show the extent to which these efforts have been successful.

As discussed by Fishman and others, language is viewed as being intertwined with the history of the Croatian people. Consequently, a distinctive Croatian linguistic identity is projected back into the past as far as possible, both to legitimize the existence of Croatian as a distinct language today, and to provide evidence of the distinctive national identity of the Croatian people from their origins in the distant past to the present day. The perceived importance of the Croatian language for the sense of Croatian national identity will be evident throughout the subsequent discussion.

3

Language, Dialect, or Variant? The Status of Croatian and Its Place in the South Slavic Dialect Continuum

Introduction

As we have argued in the previous chapter, dialects, languages, and standard languages are essentially sociolinguistic constructs. It is not possible to use only structural or historical criteria or the degree of mutual intelligibility to determine whether two varieties are part of the same language or different languages, and these criteria are at any rate not as straightforward as they would initially appear. Nevertheless, arguments of this type have been common with respect to the status of the language varieties spoken in the South Slavic region between Slovenia in the northwest and Macedonia and Bulgaria in the southeast. This chapter will examine specific linguistic facts that have been used to characterize the different language varieties in this central South Slavic region, including the larger dialect groups that are typically assumed, their historical origin, and the dialectal bases of the standard languages; we will also consider different interpretations of the linguistic data by scholars.

The dialect continuum and dialectal base(s) for the standard languages in the region

Croatian forms part of the South Slavic dialect continuum, which occupies a large part of the Balkan peninsula, extending from the Julian Alps in the northwest to the Black Sea in the southeast. The linguistic relationships among the Slavic dialects are typically represented schematically in a family tree model, one traditional version of which is given in Figure 3.1.

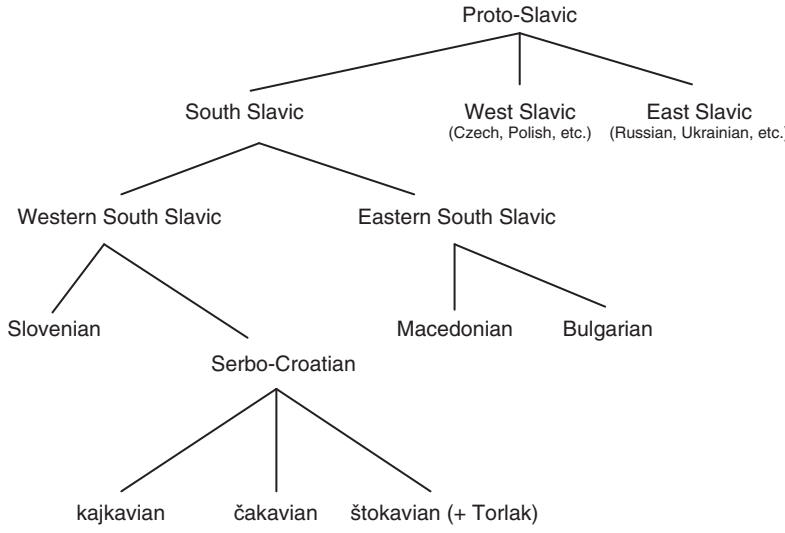
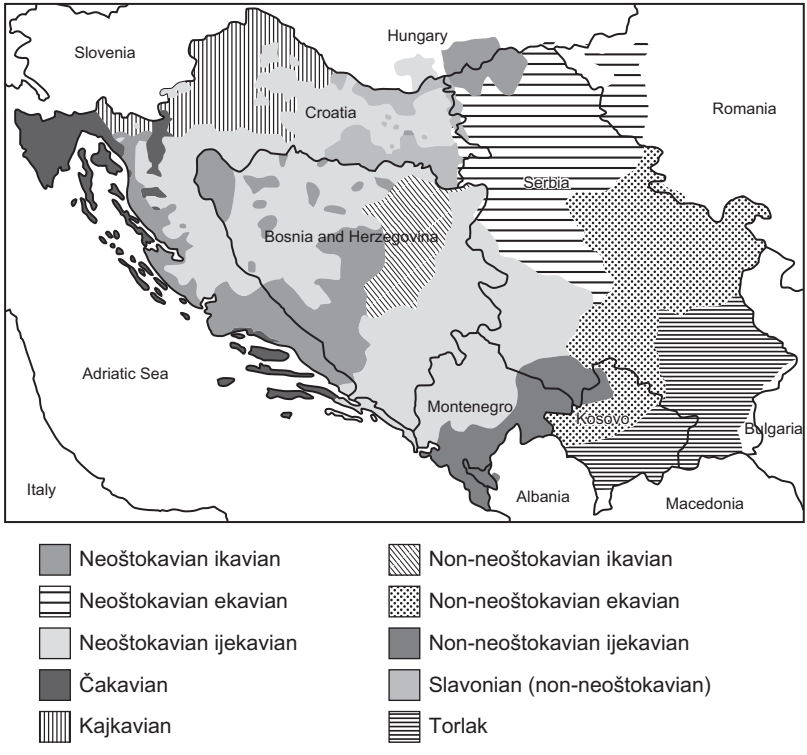


Figure 3.1 A traditional family tree model for South Slavic

As shown here, the Serbo-Croatian linguistic zone is conventionally divided into three principal dialect groups, kajkavian, čakavian, and štokavian, all of which are named for the most common words for 'what' in these dialects: *kaj*, *ča,* and *što*. A fourth major group, Torlak, was originally part of the štokavian group but has now diverged significantly from the latter and is often represented as a separate branch. Kajkavian and čakavian dialects are located almost exclusively within the borders of modern Croatia, but the majority of its inhabitants are speakers of štokavian dialects. Štokavian dialects cover the territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, and all but the extreme southeastern portion of Serbia, where Torlak dialects are spoken. Since Torlak is not particularly relevant for our purposes, we will ignore it in the subsequent discussion. Another prominent feature that distinguishes the various dialects is the reflexes of the Proto-Slavic vowel ***ě*** [æ]. The most common reflexes are *e, i*, and *ije* (when long)/*je* (when short),[1] and dialects are accordingly referred to as ekavian, ikavian, and ijekavian. This classification crosscuts the major subgroups listed above: in broad terms, kajkavian dialects are ekavian, čakavian dialects may be either

ikavian or ekavian, and štokavian dialects belong to all three groups.[2] Finally, we may also classify dialects according to their accentuation. The štokavian dialects are divided roughly into neoštokavian dialects, which have retracted the accent by one syllable, creating new rising pitch accents, and old štokavian dialects, which maintain the original position of the accent in most cases (Map 3.1).

Some Croatian linguists have proposed a different picture of the historical development of Western South Slavic, which has been adopted by many scholars in the country and is often either explicitly mentioned or tacitly assumed in recent publications within Croatia that deal with the historical and contemporary relationships among these dialects (see Figure 3.2).



Map 3.1 Central South Slavic dialects
Source: Adapted from Brozović and Ivić (1988: 70-1).

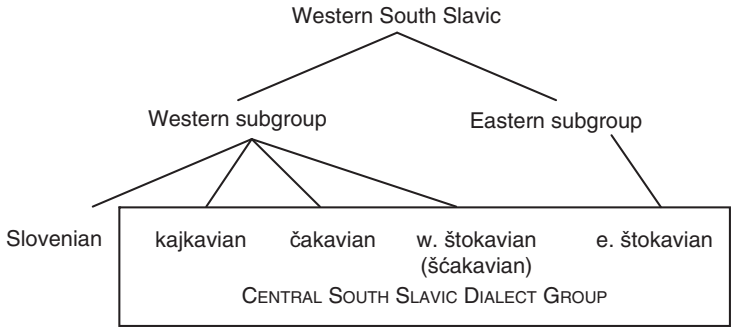


Figure 3.2 A revised family tree model for Western South Slavic
Source: Adapted from Lončarić (2005: 46), originally published as Lončarić (1988–1989).

The idea of a split between western and eastern subgroups of Western South Slavic and/or the existence of a distinct western štokavian dialect group has been discussed by a number of scholars.[3] Although there are some differences in how they interpret the details, the general assumptions of this model can be summarized as follows. Western South Slavic was at an early stage divided into two distinct dialectal zones, one essentially Slovenian-Croatian and the other essentially Serbian, which were characterized by certain linguistic features (**d′ > j* in the west versus *đ* in the east, **st′, *sk′ > šč/šć* in the west versus *št* in the east) and which initially had only weak and sporadic contacts with one another (Brozović 1998b: 5; Lisac 1998: 197). Slovenian soon began to diverge from the rest of the western subgroup through an accumulation of linguistic changes that did not spread (for the most part) to these other dialects, and kajkavian, čakavian, and western štokavian also began to develop distinctive characteristics (Lončarić 2005: 45). A map of these posited dialect divisions in Central South Slavic before the 15th century has appeared in several publications (see Map 3.2).

However, the division of the Central South Slavic region into what is portrayed as an essentially Croatian zone (the dialects of the western subgroup minus Slovenian) versus an eastern (Serbian) zone, as posited in this reconstruction, began to be blurred by a convergence of western and eastern štokavian beginning in the 12th century (Brozović 1998b: 5). In addition, mass migrations beginning in the 15th century, which were triggered by the expanding Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, increased the territory of the štokavian zone at the expense of čakavian and kajkavian, and brought about closer contacts among these three



Map 3.2 A posited distribution of dialects prior to the 15th century
Source: Adapted from Brozović (1998b: 7).

groups. Consequently, as a result of both sociopolitical factors and purely linguistic developments that postdate the earliest period of dialectal differentiation, scholars who espouse this reconstruction also recognize the existence of a Central South Slavic dialect complex with relatively close cultural ties (to varying degrees, conditioned by geographical proximity and historical political boundaries) and a complex overlapping set of partially shared linguistic features. However, in a crucial difference from the model in Figure 3.1 above, the Central South Slavic group posited here is not viewed as descending from a single common source (see also Matasović 2008b: 66).

Neither of these interpretations of the historical development of South Slavic dialects accurately reflects the linguistic facts. Although our knowledge of the early history of the Slavic peoples is limited, the available evidence indicates that a portion of the Slavs migrated from their posited original homeland northeast of the Carpathians into the Balkans in the 6th and 7th centuries, eventually settling over a wide

area and displacing or assimilating peoples who had previously lived in the region. They were physically separated from the northern Slavs after the settlement of the Magyars in Pannonia around the beginning of the 10th century and the expansion of speakers of Germanic and Romance dialects in the areas of modern-day Austria and Romania. Slavic speakers who had initially migrated into the latter areas must have been either assimilated into these populations or forced to move. Although the traditional Stammbaum model posits a neat division of Slavic into West, East, and South Slavic groups, with further branching subdivisions, it must be recognized that this represents a gross generalization which is not based solely on the linguistic evidence but is also influenced by geography, political boundaries, and the division into modern standard languages. There is no evidence of any significant dialectal differentiation in Slavic at the time of the Slavic settlement in the Balkans, and in the following centuries these dialects continued to participate in developments that either encompassed all of the Slavic territory or parts of more than one of the three major geographical areas. Developments specific to South Slavic, on the other hand, typically do not cover all of the dialects in the region. As a result, South Slavic as a whole should be seen more as a geographical designation than as a clearly demarcated genetic subgroup of Slavic (see Holzer 2007: 20–1).

The same applies to the later linguistic changes that distinguish different parts of the South Slavic region. Innovations originated in various areas and spread to cover overlapping territories, so that it is simply not possible to reconstruct separate proto-varieties for the dialect groups



Map 3.3 Phonological isoglosses in South Slavic
Source: Adapted from Ivić (1958: 31).

we identify today. The isoglosses representing the earliest linguistic differences run primarily in a northeast–southwest direction and do not correspond neatly with the modern linguistic and political boundaries. In addition, as pointed out by Ivić (1958: 32), many of the isoglosses dividing the Central South Slavic (or Serbo-Croatian) dialect zone are ones that divide the entire South Slavic region into eastern and western parts (see Maps 3.3 and 3.4).

Of course, these maps themselves represent only an idealized and overgeneralized picture based on a very limited number of linguistic features, but they give an indication of the complex pattern of linguistic



Map 3.4 Morphological isoglosses in South Slavic
Source: Adapted from Ivić (1958: 32).

developments in the region, which clearly cannot be reconciled with the neat Stammbaum divisions posited in Figures 3.1 and 3.2. Indeed, those authors who posit an early division of Western South Slavic into western and eastern subgroups, including a division between western and eastern štokavian, typically do not attempt to enumerate the features that supposedly justify this historical reconstruction, which may be a tacit acknowledgement of the fact that there are no shared innovations that simultaneously characterize all dialects included in each subgroup and do not extend to portions of the other groups. For example, the sequences **st'*, **sk'*, **zd'*, **zg'* originally developed into a combination of fricative plus affricate (**šč/šć*, **žž/žđ*) over most of this area, which later dissimilated to *št*, *žd* in the eastern dialects. The latter reflexes are characteristic of eastern štokavian as well as part of the

Table 3.1 Phonological developments in different dialect groups[4]

	Slovenian	**kajkavian**	**čakavian**	**w. štok.**	**e. štok.**
*t′	č	č	ć [t′]	ć [tɛ]	ć [tɛ]
*d′	j	j, ǯ	j	đ [dʑ]	đ [dʑ]
*st′, *sk′	šč	šč	šć	šć, št	št
*zd′, *zg′	žj, žǯ	žj, žǯ	žj	žđ, žd	žd
*ǫ	o	ǫ/o, u	u (o)	u	u
*ę	e	e	e	e	e
*ъ, *ь	ā/ə, e	ę	a (o, e)	a	a
*ě	ę	ę	i, e, i ~ e	i, (i)je	e

western štokavian group, while the reflexes in the other dialects partly continue the more archaic state of affairs, and thus do not represent a common innovation characterizing the posited western subgroup. Table 3.1 gives a schematic overview of a number of phonological developments that can be dated to the time after the Slavs settled in the western Balkans and before the beginning of mass migrations in the 15th century. These features do not support a clear east/west division within western South Slavic.

As a result, none of the conventionally recognized dialectal divisions represent coherent and genetically distinct entities. From a scholarly perspective, they are convenient labels referring to groups of speech varieties that underwent a significant number of shared historical developments and that can be identified by a set of common features today, but we must recognize that these groups include both prototypical members and more peripheral ones, the latter of which often share a sizable number of features with other groups. For these peripheral varieties the determination of group membership is somewhat subjective, and may be based on a decision to give greater weight to specific linguistic features and/or to extra-linguistic factors. For example, there is no concentrated bundle of isoglosses that could be used to clearly distinguish Slovenian from kajkavian, and some dialects in the border regions of Slovenia and Croatia could reasonably be classified as belonging to either group (for example, local dialects in the Prlekija and Haloze regions of Slovenia). Dialects in the Donja Sutla region of Croatia could be classified as čakavian or kajkavian, some dialects in Istria have been classified differently as štokavian or čakavian, and so on.

Speakers of these language varieties also recognize their similarities and differences and may categorize them into larger groups, both on

the basis of their own intuitions and exposure to the conventional system of classification, which is widely known since it is typically introduced in schools as part of instruction in the standard language. Speakers make similar determinations of group membership based on their own evaluation of the relative importance of linguistic and other factors, so the classification of these varieties into distinct languages and (macro-) dialects is sociolinguistically significant. However, the classifications made by speakers may differ from the opinions of linguists; for example, because they use the interrogative pronoun *što*, which is popularly seen as the quintessential marker of a štokavian dialect, most inhabitants of the island of Pašman reportedly self-identify as štokavian speakers, despite the fact that other features of their dialect are typically čakavian (Finka 1987: 208).

All four official/standard languages in the Central South Slavic group have a neoštokavian basis, which accounts for their high degree of structural similarity. Standard Bosnian, Croatian, and Montenegrin use the ijekavian reflex of **ě*. The Serbian standard language allows both ijekavian and ekavian, but within the Republic of Serbia standard usage is almost exclusively ekavian. Generally speaking, standard Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian are much more similar to each other than many individual local dialects are, even within the same country. Compare the following examples:

Dialects versus standard varieties[5]
a. Bednja (northern Croatia)

Jȍ sa obȅrnam, do îem đȉme, ȁli sym nīe štȅl ȉti, nȍg sa skrêijam zo jȁu gẽrm, do vêidim kôj bôu ȅn tȕj zdȁj dȅlol. (Jedvaj 1956: 326)

Standard Croatian

Jâ se òkrēnēm, da ȉdēm kȕći, ȁli nísam htȉo ìći, nȅgo se sȁkrijēm za jèdan gr̂m, da vȉdīm, štȍ će ôn tû sȁd ráditi. (trans. Jedvaj)

Standard Serbian

Jâ se òkrēnēm, da ȉdēm kȕći, ȁli nísam htȅo/htȉo ìći, nȅgo se sȁkrijēm za jèdan gr̂m, da vìdīm, štȁ će ôn tû sȁd da râdī.

[I turn around to go home, but I didn't want to go, instead I hide behind a bush to see what he would do here now.]

b. Dračevica (island of Brač, southern Croatia)

Môž je mȉsec pûn cvȉćo: po pȍjih, po starinõh i po pitõrih, po ponȉstroh i na sulõrih. Mladȉći su svojȉn cȕran ostavijãli pr vrõta ol kȕće okȉćenu grônu. (Šimunović and Olesch 1983: 12)

Standard Croatian

Svîbanj je mjȅsēc pȕn cvijȇća: po pòljima, po ugárima i u lôncima, po prózorima i na balkónima. Mladȉći su svòjim cȕrama òstavljāli ȉspred vrátā od kȕćē òkićenu grânu.

Standard Serbian

Mȁj je m(j)ȅsēc pȕn cv(ij)ȇća: po pòljima, po ugárima i u lôncima, po prózorima i na balkónima. Mladȉći su svòjim cȕrama òstavljāli ȉspred vrátā od kȕćē òkićenu grânu.

[May is a month full of flowers: in the fields and in flowerpots, on windowsills and balconies. Young men would leave a decorated branch for their girlfriends in front of the door to their house.]

Although the initial development of these standard varieties has often been attributed primarily to the work of Vuk Karadžić, who selected the East Herzegovinian štokavian dialect as the basis for a modern standard language in Serbia, some Croatian scholars have argued that the Croatian standard is based primarily on the western štokavian dialects (for example, Brozović 1991 [1971]: 34). Therefore, the reconstruction of a distinct western štokavian group at an earlier stage can be used to bolster Croatian national identity in at least two ways. It provides a Croatian pedigree for the contemporary standard language, as opposed to those who claim that the Croats simply adopted their standard language from the Serbs (see Chapter 4 for further discussion). It can also be used to counter the opinion, expressed by Vuk and others, that all štokavian speakers are historically ethnic Serbs, some of whom ended up in the sphere of the western Catholic Church and as a result later came to identify themselves as Croats (see the following section, 'The ethnic origin of the Croats and their language').

While laying claim to a unique, western štokavian dialect base for Croatian is clearly seen as important, an even greater emphasis has been placed on the role of the kajkavian and čakavian dialect groups in the definition of Croatian linguistic identity. It is only in Croatia

that speakers of štokavian, kajkavian, and čakavian coexist and interact in everyday situations, and these interdialectal contacts are seen as an important feature of Croatian linguistic life that has helped to shape the standard language (see Katičić 1997: 183). Although the Croatian standard language is based on štokavian, it is often described by Croatian linguists as being tri-dialectal in nature; for example, Moguš (1995: 12) writes that the Croatian literary language 'is basically tri-dialectal, and has acquired its strongest unity through the continuous historical merging of its surface variation'. Similarly, in a discussion of how the tradition of Croatian literature written in all three dialects influenced the development of the standard language, Brozović (1978: 73) states: 'Thus a tri-dialectal dimension is contained in the Croatian neoštokavian standard itself'. This assertion of the tri-dialectal nature of Croatian marks it as unique and distinct from Serbian. From the point of view that interdialectal contacts have played an important role in the formation of the Croatian linguistic identity and that the existence of oppositions with kajkavian and čakavian dialects in the context of a larger system is what makes štokavian distinctive, Katičić (1997: 183) has gone so far as to state that 'it can be said, quite contrary to the received opinion, that Serbian dialects are not štokavian at all because they do not refer in the same way to čakavian and kajkavian'.

In practical terms, however, it is not clear what exactly it means to claim that the contemporary Croatian standard language is tri-dialectal. With respect to its phonological and grammatical system it is clearly štokavian, and the inclusion of typical čakavian or kajkavian features in these domains would fundamentally alter the structure of the language. It would appear that this claim refers mainly to the acceptability of lexical items borrowed from kajkavian and čakavian. A typical phrasing is that the standard is 'open' to influences from these other dialects. According to Brozović (1991 [1971]: 31): 'Therefore the Croatian standard language is even today open with respect to the dialects of the kajkavian and čakavian groups and from them it freely adopts linguistic resources if they are necessary and useful, adapting them to its own rules'. Of course, the same could be said of borrowings from other languages, and there are undoubtedly more of these foreign loanwords used in standard Croatian today than words that are demonstrably borrowed from one of the other two dialect groups. Consequently, statements about the 'openness' of the standard language to the other dialects seem to be primarily rhetorical in nature. They serve to emphasize a uniquely Croatian identity for

the standard language, since no one claims that čakavian or kajkavian dialects are part of the Serbian language.

The ethnic origin of the Croats and their language

The ethnic origins and historical identities of speakers of the main South Slavic dialect groups have been a recurrent source of contention.[6] The distribution of these dialects created difficulties for emerging nationalist movements in the 19th century, which were influenced by Romantic beliefs equating language and nation. A number of linguists at the time identified kajkavian with Slovenian, because of their many similarities, and Serbs in particular began to see štokavian as an essential characteristic of Serbian identity. By this logic, the štokavian-speaking Roman Catholic Croats and Bosnian Muslims were ethnic Serbs who, through the vagaries of history, had ended up outside the Orthodox Church. According to this view, the only truly Croatian idiom was čakavian, and consequently only those belonging to the relatively small number of čakavian speakers were considered to be ethnic Croats. Based on this linguistic division of the western South Slavic peoples, Šafařík (1955 [1842]) stated that there were only 801,000 Croats, all living within the Habsburg monarchy, as opposed to 1,151,000 Slovenes and 5,294,000 Serbs (the latter group consisting of 2,880,000 Orthodox, 1,864,000 Catholics, and 550,000 Muslims; see Banac 1984b: 79–81). While this attribution of national identity solely on the basis of major dialect divisions does not correspond with either the historical or linguistic facts, it has retained a certain amount of influence from the 19th century to the present. For example, the Serbian linguist Branislav Brborić (1996: 17, n. 1), writing about the dialects spoken in Croatia, states that čakavian is purely Croatian, kajkavian is closer to Slovenian, and štokavian is 'eminently [sic; 'immanently' presumably intended here] a Serbian national dialect'. Consequently, many Croatian writers have tried to show that the Croats represent a distinct ethnic and linguistic group from the earliest stages of their history.

Historical records and archeological evidence provide very little information about the early history of the Croats. Most scholars believe that members of a tribe known in Slavic by the name **хъrvat-* (> Cr. *Hrvat* 'Croat') took part in the invasions of Slavs and Avars from somewhere in the region north of the Carpathians into the Balkan peninsula in the 6th–7th centuries. Although this name itself is possibly of Iranian origin (see Vasmer 1958: 261; Gluhak 1990: 95), it may have been adopted from another group by a tribe of ethnic Slavs, or could have been applied to a

group of Slavs originally under the domination of a smaller number of non-Slavic leaders. Whatever their ultimate origin, it is almost certain that the Croats were essentially a Slavic people by the time they entered the Balkans. The expansion of the Slavs into the Balkans took place gradually, in successive waves, and the Croats and other Slavs clearly must have absorbed portions of the existing population in the course of their migration and settlement (see Barford 2001: 46, 62). The historical evidence indicates that the Croats had established themselves in the northwestern Balkans in the regions of Pannonia and Dalmatia by the end of the 7th century. By the early 10th century, the tribal federations and proto-state structures of the earlier periods were united under Tomislav into a Croatian kingdom recognized by the Pope.[7]

Other versions of the origin and early history of the Croats have been proposed, some of which have attracted considerable attention outside of academic circles. Scholars who hold that the ethnonym 'Croat' is Iranian in origin often connect it with the personal names *Khoroathos/Khorouathos* found in Greek inscriptions on two gravestones in Tanais (modern-day Azov) that date from the 2nd–3rd centuries (see Vasmer 1958: 261; Gluhak 1990: 95). This has led some writers to hypothesize, despite the lack of convincing supporting evidence, that the Croats were originally an Iranian people who lived at one time in this region. Some would trace the name **хъrvat-* even further back to the Old Persian *Harauvatiš*, the name of a satrapy in the Achaemenid empire, which is attested in the Behistun inscription of Darius the Great (reigned 521–486 BCE) as well as in other sources.[8] Some proponents of the 'Iranian theory' of Croatian origins use this presumed etymological connection as evidence that the proto-Croats lived in the area of Kandahar in Afghanistan and constituted a distinct ethnic group already in the 6th–5th centuries BCE (for example, Kale 1999). Expanding on this notion, Heres (1993, quoted by Brozović Rončević 1993: 15) has claimed that already in this supposed Iranian homeland the Croats possessed a 'distinct national language with three already-formed dialects (čakavian, kajkavian, and štokavian), a well-established literary language, [and] a cuneiform script which in the course of time developed into the Glagolitic alphabet', none of which has any basis in fact.

The primary documentary source of information about the arrival of the Croats in the Balkans is found in Chapters 29–31 of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio* (DAI), which actually gives two separate versions of this event. According to one account, the Croats came to Dalmatia in the first half of the 7th century from their homeland of White Croatia, located north of the Carpathian mountains near

Bavaria (in reality, probably in the area of southern Poland), at the invitation of the Byzantine emperor, who wanted their help in fighting the Avars. After accomplishing this task, these Croats settled permanently in the northwest Balkans. Taking this account from DAI at face value, and assuming that the Tanais gravestones indicate that a group of (Iranian) Croats was living in the area of the southern Don in the 2nd–3rd centuries, some historians surmise that some or all of these Croats must have moved west to the area north of the Carpathians at the time the Huns began to invade Europe. Although adherents of this theory generally assume that the Croats mixed with Slavic tribes in White Croatia or earlier in the southern Russian steppe and adopted Slavic speech and customs, others maintain that they preserved a distinctly non-Slavic identity (for example, Guldescu 1964: 41; Mandić 1990 [1971]: 21; see also Hitrec 1995). Even historians who are careful to distance themselves from such speculation may still implicitly treat the Croats as distinct from the Slavs. For example, Goldstein (2003: 39–41) discusses 'The migration of the Slavs' and 'The migration of the Croats' in two separate sections, even though he also states that we cannot be certain how the Croats differed from the Slavs, or even if any differences existed at all (41).

The Iranian theory of Croat origins and the account of their separate migration into the Balkans given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus clearly have a nationalist appeal, since these versions of history mark the Croats as a group distinct from the Serbs, as well as the other modern Slavic peoples, and also imply that the Croats enjoyed some degree of political autonomy prior to their arrival in the Balkans, in White Croatia and possibly even earlier in the territory north of the Black Sea or in their supposed Iranian homeland. This theory enjoys some popularity among the broader public and has inspired numerous publications, websites, and discussions in the Croatian media.[9] However, there is no convincing evidence to support an Iranian origin for the Croats, apart from the possible etymology of the name, and it would be a mistake to give too much credence to the information given in DAI. DAI was probably compiled from diplomatic reports sometime around 950 CE (Barford 2001: 7), three centuries after the events that it describes concerning the arrival of the Croats. This account has internal inconsistencies and incorporates elements that are surely mythological (see Klaić 1971: 133–40). There is no archeological evidence for the settlement of a previously unknown group of people in the Balkans during the time frame that would be consistent with either version of the story reported in DAI; on the contrary, all indications support the most widely accepted theory that the ancestors of the modern Croats were

part of the groups of Slavs who crossed over the Danube along with the Avars (Evans 1989: 155–8).

Structural similarities and differences between standard Croatian and Serbian

Despite beliefs that came to prominence in the 19th century that the Croats and Serbs are one people who should share a single standard language, different norms of usage persisted in Croatia and Serbia as a result of their different literary and cultural traditions and the partly separate historical processes of language standardization. Although various efforts were made to unify the two norms into a single, coherent whole, this goal was never achieved (see Chapter 4 for further discussion). The major linguistic differences between Croatian and Serbian have also been discussed by Croatian scholars in a variety of publications (for example, Kačić 1995; Pranjković 1997), all of which have the goal of demonstrating the distinctiveness of the Croatian language. The features that are most typically cited as distinguishing standard Croatian and Serbian usage are outlined below.[10] Note that we are not claiming that these commonly cited differences are absolute or reflect the usage of all speakers; see the discussion following this list.

1. Orthography

   a. Croatian uses the Latin alphabet, with a distinctive combination of diacritic marks and digraphs to represent certain sounds *(č, ć, dž, đ, š, ž, lj, nj)*. Serbian has traditionally used a version of the Cyrillic alphabet, with certain distinctive letters (ћ, џ, ђ, ј, љ, њ) adopted in the 19th century, but in the 20th century also began using the same version of the Latin alphabet as Croatian. Both alphabets are currently in official use in Serbia.

   b. In Serbian, the spelling of words more or less directly reflects the pronunciation, in keeping with Vuk's maxim 'Write as you speak', which he applied in his reform of Serbian orthography in the 19th century. This principle was also eventually adopted for the Croatian standard language, but it has been somewhat less consistently applied there. For example, foreign names are conventionally given in their original spelling if the source language uses the Latin alphabet, and more recently some orthographic handbooks have recommended a spelling that reflects the morphological structure for certain native forms; for example, Cr. *Shakespeare* vs S. *Šekspir*, Cr. *predak* 'ancestor', PL *predci* or *preci* vs

S. *predak, preci*.[11] When it immediately follows the infinitive, the future auxiliary is written as a separate word in Croatian, but is combined with the infinitive in Serbian; for example, *radit ću* vs *radiću* 'I will work' (these forms are pronounced identically in both varieties, for example, [raditɕu]).

2. Phonology

a. In standard Croatian the Common Slavic vowel ***ě*** is normally reflected as a diphthong, spelled *ije* or *je*.[12] The reflex *e* is typical for standard Serbian, although Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and some parts of Serbia proper have the *ije/je* pronunciation, and this is also officially accepted as standard Serbian usage.

Croatian	**Serbian**	
mlijeko	*mleko*	'milk'
pjesma	*pesma*	'poem, song'

b. There is a widespread tendency in štokavian dialects to lose the original *h* [x] sound, which may be replaced by *v, j*, or simply deleted. Standard Croatian typically maintains *h* in all of the etymologically expected positions, while Standard Serbian consistently replaces *h* with *v* after *u,* and has lost *h* in a number of other forms as well; for example:

Croatian	**Serbian**	
kuhati	*kuvati*	'to cook'
suh	*suv*	'dry'
snaha	*snaha, snaja*	'daughter-in-law'
hrđa	*rđa*	'rust'

However, it should be noted that there are some grammatical endings and numerous lexemes with *h* in both standard Croatian and Serbian; for example, the adjectival G.PL ending *-ih*, AOR.1SG *-h/-oh*, words such as *grijeh/greh* 'sin', *jahati* 'to ride on horseback', *živahan* 'lively', and so on.

c. There is a general štokavian change of *l* > *o* in syllable-final position (for example, *l*-PPLE.FEM.SG *čital-a*, MASC.SG *čitao*). This is reflected consistently in standard Serbian, but in Croatian *l* is usually maintained if the preceding vowel is *o*; for example:

Croatian	**Serbian**	
stol	*sto*	'table'
vol	*vo*	'ox'

d. In standard Croatian, the prepositions *s* 'with', *k* 'to' appear as *sa, ka* only before certain consonants and consonant clusters, while in Serbian the latter forms are commonly used in all environments; for example Cr. *s prijateljem* 'with a friend', *sa susjedom* 'with a neighbor', *k nama* 'to us', *ka gradu* 'to(ward) the city'[13] versus S. *sa prijateljem, sa susedom, ka nama, ka gradu.*

e. There are consistent accentual differences in certain groups of forms, including personal pronouns, some present tense and infinitive verb forms, and certain types of nouns.

Croatian	**Serbian**	
mȅne, tȅbe	*mène, tèbe*	'I, you (G/A.SG)'
žèlīmo, čītāmo	*želímo, čitámo*	'we want, we read'
pòmoći, ìspeći	*pomòći, ispèći*	'to help, to bake'
dôći, òdvūći	*dóći, odvúći*	'to arrive, to pull away'
rât, N.PL *ràdovi*	*rât, rádovi*	'work'
stanòvnīk, G.SG *stanovníka*	*stànōvnīk*, G.SG *stànōvnīka*	'resident'

f. There are characteristic differences in the phonological adaptation of many foreign borrowings, which are often due to different source/intermediary languages; for example:

Croatian	**Serbian**	
Bizant	*Vizant*	'Byzantium'
labirint	*lavirint*	'labyrinth'
kaos	*haos*	'chaos'
kemija	*hemija*	'chemistry'
cedar	*kedar*	'cedar'
ocean	*okean*	'ocean'
historija	*istorija*	'history'
heretik	*jeretik*	'heretic'
kozmos	*kosmos*	'cosmos'
filozofija	*filosofija*	'philosophy'
demokracija	*demokratija*	'democracy'
diplomacija	*diplomatija*	'diplomacy'
subjekt	*subjekat*	'subject'
dokument	*dokumenat*	'document'
amen	*amin*	'amen'
Atena	*Atina*	'Athens'
eunuh	*evnuh*	'eunuch'

euro	*evro*	'euro'
aktualan	*aktuelan*	'contemporary, current'
vizualan	*vizuelan*	'visual'
kriterij	*kriterijum*	'criterion'
stadij	*stadijum*	'stadium'

3. Morphology

There are numerous differences in word-formation processes. In most cases these reflect differences in the distribution of affixes that are used in both Croatian and Serbian, and some of these discrepancies are simply idiosyncratic. We will consider only some of the more systematic differences here. There are also a limited number of differences in inflectional morphology, some of which involve the supposedly greater frequency of certain variant forms of inflectional endings in Croatian as opposed to Serbian.

a. Some related word-formation affixes have different forms in Croatian and Serbian; for example:

Croatian	**Serbian**	
su-	***sa-***	
suvremen	*savremen*	'contemporary'
suradnik	*saradnik*	'co-worker'
protu-	***protiv(u)-***	
proturječje	*protivurečje*	'contradiction'
protuzakonit	*protivzakonit*	'illegal'
izvan-	***van-***	
izvanredan	*vanredan*	'exceptional'
-ero	***-oro***	
petero	*petoro*	'five (COLL)'

b. The relative frequency of various affixes used to derive feminine, diminutive, agentive, and other types of nouns often differs. Although these suffixes occur in both varieties, some are viewed as being more typical for one than the other; for example:

Croatian	**Serbian**	
-ica	***-ka, -kinja***	
profesorica	*profesorka*	'professor (FEM)'
učiteljica	*učiteljka*	'teacher (FEM)'

studentica	*studentkinja*	'student (FEM)'
-ić	***-če***	
ormarić	*ormarče*	'wardrobe, cabinet (DIM)'
prozorčić	*prozorče*	'window (DIM)'
šeširić	*šeširče*	'hat (DIM)'
-telj	***-lac***	
branitelj	*branilac*	'defender'
gledatelj	*gledalac*	'watcher, viewer'
(various)	***-džija***	
topnik	*tobdžija*	'gunner, artilleryman'
tramvajac	*tramvajdžija*	'tram operator, worker'
-ba	***(various)***	
jednadžba	*jednačina*	'equation'
svjedodžba	*svedočanstvo*	'certificate'

c. Borrowings frequently are adapted into different declension classes/genders, and some native words also exhibit declension class/gender differences.

Croatian	**Serbian**	
MASC, I DECL	FEM, II DECL	
leksik	*leksika*	'lexicon'
planet	*planeta*	'planet'
svezak	*sveska*	'volume'
teritorij	*teritorija*	'territory'
FEM, II DECL	MASC, I DECL	
kvaliteta	*kvalitet*	'quality'
minuta	*minut*	'minute'
metoda	*metod*	'method'
fronta	*front*	'front (mil.)'
MASC, I DECL	MASC, II DECL	
anarhist	*anarhista*	'anarchist'
lingvist	*lingvista*	'linguist'
apologet	*apologeta*	'apologist'
diplomat	*diplomata*	'diplomat'

d. Croatian uses the adjective-forming suffix *-n* in many instances where Serbian uses *-k*

Croatian	**Serbian**	
jezični	*jezički*	'linguistic, language (ADJ)'
porezni	*poreski*	'tax (ADJ)'

e. Croatian most often uses *-irati* to form verbs from foreign bases, while Serbian typically uses *-isati* or *-ovati*.

Croatian	**Serbian**	
informirati	*informisati*	'to inform'
konstruirati	*konstruisati*	'to construct'
garantirati	*garantovati*	'to guarantee'
interesirati	*interesovati*	'to interest'

f. Variant longer forms of definite adjectival endings MASC/NEUT.G.SG *-oga,* MASC/NEUT.D.SG *-omu*, MASC/NEUT.L.SG *-ome* (versus *-og, -om*)[14] are more frequently used in written Croatian than in Serbian. It is also claimed that Croatian uses uncontracted forms of possessive pronouns more frequently (for example, *mojega* 'my', *njezin* 'her' versus *moga, njen*, and so on).

g. Distinct oblique forms for indefinite adjectives have been better preserved in written Croatian usage, and the prescriptive norm requires that the indefinite endings be used for possessive adjectives; for example, *od njegova* (INDEF) *brata* 'from his brother', although *od njegovog* (DEF) *brata* is normally used in everyday speech. Standard Serbian allows either ending.

h. Masculine hypocoristica in *-o, -e* follow the second declension in standard Croatian, but the first declension in Serbian;[15] for example, Croatian *Ivo*, G.SG *Ive*, D.SG *Ivi*, and so on, versus Serbian *Ivo, Iva, Ivu*, and so on.

i. Standard Serbian allows some numerals as well as nouns in apposition to a proper name to remain uninflected for case where inflected forms are prescribed in standard Croatian; for example, Croatian *vjetar puše sa svih četiriju* (G) *strana* vs Serbian *vetar puše sa sve četiri* (N) *strane* 'the wind is blowing from all four directions'; Croatian *s tetkom* (I) *Marijanom* vs Serbian *sa tetka* (N) *Marijanom* 'with Aunt Marijana'.

4. Syntax

Serbian most frequently uses the conjunction *da* plus a present tense verb form in place of the infinitive, while the infinitive is strongly preferred in Croatian; for example, Cr. *Oni ne žele doći.* 'They don't want to come.' vs S. *Oni ne žele da dođu.* (literally) 'They don't want that [they] come.'

5. Lexicon

There are numerous differences in lexical items, including some identical forms with different meanings in the two varieties. In many instances, Croatian uses a native Slavic form (often a calque or neologism) alongside a borrowed word, while Serbian only has a borrowed form. Estimates of the number of lexical differences range as high as 20,000, but these figures include both doublets of the latter type, where the 'Serbian' form is also commonly used in Croatian, as well as different word formations based on the same root (for example, *poduzeće* vs *preduzeće* 'company, enterprise', *izvješće* vs *izvještaj* 'report', and so on).

Croatian	**Serbian**	
kruh	*hleb*	'bread'
kazalište	*pozorište*	'theater'
vlak	*voz*	'train'
dojam	*utisak*	'impression'
otok	*ostrvo*	'island'
uvjet	*uslov*	'condition'
služben	*zvaničan*	'official'
znanost	*nauka*	'science'
juha	*supa*	'soup'
dvorana	*sala*	'hall'
nogomet	*fudbal*	'soccer'
sveučilište	*univerzitet*	'university'
čimbenik, faktor	*faktor*	'factor'
gospodarstvo, ekonomija	*ekonomija*	'economy'
glazba, muzika	*muzika*	'music'
tajnik, sekretar	*sekretar*	'secretary'

Although there are a substantial number of differences between standard Croatian and Serbian usage, as can be seen from the examples above, many of these represent tendencies or preferences rather than sharp distinctions. Marković (1971) argued that there are actually few pairs of words that are completely polarized; in some cases one lexeme is widespread in both Serbian and Croatian, while the other is characteristic of only one variety, and in other cases there is evidence that both lexemes are used in both varieties, although their relative frequency differs. Malić (1981) obtained similar findings in a detailed study of over 1,000 pairs of words and their attestations in the multi-volume JAZU dictionary. For most forms that can be described as predominantly Croatian or Serbian according to their attestations in this dictionary, there are also at least some attestations of the same form in the other

variety. She concludes that the historical evidence shows that Croatian and Serbian were very similar throughout much of their history, and that their lexical differentiation actually became more pronounced after they were declared to be a single literary language (Malić 1981: 62). Therefore, it should be recognized that there is a significant amount of variation within both Croatian and Serbian, as in any language, and the differences between the two standards often are simply the result of the prescription of particular choices from among variants that are in use in both language communities. Features that are said to be characteristic of the Croatian standard language are often more properly described as features that are characteristic of Zagreb and central Croatia more broadly, and are skewed heavily towards the most formal written styles. Usage in Dalmatia, Slavonia, or Istria often diverges from this, even in contexts where speakers are expected to adhere to the prescriptive norms of the standard language. In everyday spoken usage among educated individuals, Croatian and Serbian are less clearly differentiated than such lists of characteristic features might suggest.

Mutual intelligibility

As shown above, the structural differences between the Croatian and Serbian standard varieties can be considered minor, with the greatest portion of their fundamental grammatical structure being identical. That being the case, one would expect an almost perfect degree of mutual intelligibility between speakers of these two varieties, and even authors who most vigorously defend the idea that Croatian and Serbian are distinct languages do not dispute this assumption. To our knowledge there have been no formal studies that attempt to directly determine the degree of mutual intelligibility or to measure related phenomena, such as possible differences in processing times for texts written in one variety versus the other, so we must rely primarily on the personal experiences and beliefs of native speakers. However, standard practices in the media also support the assumption of mutual intelligibility; for example, Serbian films are routinely shown in Croatia without subtitles,[16] and Serbian speakers who appear on Croatian news or other broadcasts speak without interpreters or subtitles. This indicates that Croatian speakers do in fact comprehend Serbian with little or no difficulty.

Comparison with British and American standard English

Differences between standard Croatian and Serbian are often characterized as being similar to the differences between standard varieties of

English used in Great Britain and in America. Since these are considered to represent a single language and native speakers as well as most speakers of English as a second language are generally aware of at least some of the differences between the latter varieties, they can serve as a useful point of reference. In fact, we can cite discrepancies on all of the different linguistic levels mentioned above for Croatian and Serbian. While we will not describe these differences in any great detail, following are some characteristic examples.[17]

1. Orthography

   In addition to a number of unsystematic differences in spelling (for example, British *cheque*, American *check*; British *tyre*, American *tire*; British *yoghurt*, American *yogurt*), there are several more or less systematic sets of differences:

British	**American**
-our	***-or***
colour	*color*
honour	*honor*
-re	***-er***
centre	*center*
theatre	*theater*
-ogue	***-og***
catalogue	*catalog*
dialogue	*dialog*
-ence	***-ense***
defence	*defense*
licence	*license*
-ise/-ize	***-ize***
naturalise/naturalize	*naturalize*
organise/organize	*organize*

2. Phonology

   There is no single standard pronunciation for either British or American English, but there are nevertheless some general differences between the pronunciation of many educated British and American speakers. These will be described here on the basis of the idealized varieties known as Received Pronunciation, based on upper-class speech in southeastern England, and General

American, a pronunciation without any strongly marked regional features that is used widely in broadcasting. In addition to non-systematic differences limited to individual lexical items (such as British [ælə'mɪnjəm] *aluminium*, American [ə'lumɪnəm] *aluminum*; British ['ʃɛdjul]/['ʃɛʤul] *schedule*, American ['skɛʤəl]/['skɛʤʊəl]), there are a few more regular features that distinguish the two varieties.

a. Vowels

British English has a low rounded back vowel [ɒ] that is absent in American English:

	British	**American**
father	['fɑðə]	['fɑðəɹ]
bother	['bɒðə]	['bɑðəɹ]

British English has [ɑ] in many forms where American English has [æ]:[18]

	British	**American**
dance	[dɑns]	[dæns]
fast	[fɑst]	[fæst]

British English also realizes the first element of the *o* diphthong more centrally than in American English:

	British	**American**
no	[nəʊ]	[noʊ]

b. Stress

Stress assignment often differs in British and American English. Borrowings from French often keep their final stress in American English, while in British English they have been adapted to the native stress system (for example, British '*debris* vs American *de*'*bris*, British '*café* vs American *ca*'*fé*). In some words of four or more syllables ending in *-ary, -ery, -ory* British English stresses the second syllable, while American English has a main stress on the first syllable (for example, British *la*'*boratory* vs American '*labora*ˌ*tory*). In other longer words, the main stress falls on the same syllable in both varieties, but American English has a secondary stress and British English does not (which also leads to vowel reduction in the latter); for example, British '*ceremony*, American '*cere*ˌ*mony*, British '*raspberry*, American '*rasp*ˌ*berry*.

c. Rhotacism

British English deletes [ɹ] in syllable-final position (see the examples *father, bother* cited above). Because word-final [ɹ] in such forms is pronounced before a following word beginning with a vowel, British English has generalized this pattern to other words that did not originally have an [ɹ] (for example, *law and order* British [lɔɹ ænd ɔdə], American [lɔ ænd ɔɹdəɹ]).

d. Flapping

In American English, intervocalic /t/, /d/ are reduced to a voiced flap or tap [ɾ] if the following vowel is unstressed (for example, *butter* British ['bʌtə], American ['bʌɾəɹ]).

3. Morphology

Differences in inflectional or derivational morphology are limited mainly to differences in the relative frequency of variant forms or the application of shared derivational processes to different bases in the two varieties. For example, irregular past tense forms such as *dreamt, dwelt, learnt, spelt* are relatively more common in British English than in American English, although regularized *dreamed, dwelled, learned, spelled* occur in both varieties. Nouns can be derived from verbs either by conversion (that is, with no affix) or by suffixation, and there are some discrepancies between the two varieties in the use of these processes with different verbs. For example, in British English, 'the power of hire and fire' and 'the power of hiring and firing' are both possible, while the former sounds distinctly odd to an American ear. On the other hand, 'take a sharp turning' is common in British English, while in American English only 'turn' is possible in this context.

4. (Morpho)syntax

There are noticeable syntactic differences between British and American English, although these, too, are usually not absolute in nature. To cite just a few examples: collective nouns in British English may take either singular or plural agreement, while in American English they usually take singular agreement; progressive aspect is somewhat more common in American usage, while perfect aspect is somewhat more common in British; there are differences in the frequency and use of various modal and auxiliary verbs; there are some differences in the use of the definite article (for example, British 'in hospital' versus

American 'in the hospital'); there are differences in verbal complementation and in many other collocations (for example, British 'agree something', 'disapprove something' versus American 'agree to something', 'disapprove of something'), and so on.

5. Lexicon

There are numerous lexical differences between British and American English, for example British *lift,* American *elevator*; British *petrol*, American *gas(oline)*. These differences are well known and there is no need to multiply examples here. However, it is worth pointing out that these differences are also not absolute in nature: differences often involve only some meanings of the forms in question, while other meanings overlap between the two varieties, and there is a significant amount of regional variation in both countries. Lexical items may also easily spread from one country to the other, particularly through television and film.

To summarize, while it is not possible to precisely quantify the degree of difference between Croatian and Serbian as opposed to that between British and American English, the relationships between these varieties are comparable in many respects. Distinctions in morphology and syntax between British and American English are perhaps less systematic or less obvious to native speakers than some of the similar distinctions between Croatian and Serbian. However, in both cases there are obviously many salient differences between the varieties in question, of which speakers are well aware.

Interpretations by linguists outside of Croatia

As we have tried to demonstrate in Chapter 2, the identification of distinct varieties such as languages or dialects is at least partly subjective, and as these terms are most commonly used both in everyday life and in the field of linguistics, such determinations are not made solely on the basis of linguistic evidence. However, a number of linguists have resisted this conclusion, arguing instead that the objective facts can be used to 'prove' that Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian are really a single language. To cite one prominent example, the Croatian linguist Snježana Kordić has conducted extended polemics on this topic with other linguists in the pages of Croatian journals. According to her: 'For linguistics there is no doubt that it is a case of a single linguistic area, covered in international terminology by the name Serbo-Croatian' (Kordić 2001: 239).[19] In the same article she cites Heinz-Dieter Pohl

(1996: 219), who states that 'Serbo-Croatian has always been a purely linguistic concept, which expresses nothing other than the fact that the Serbs and Croats speak the same language'. Kordić argues that status as a language should be determined solely on the basis of structural criteria and mutual intelligibility, and not political considerations or the beliefs and attitudes of speakers. According to her interpretation of these facts, which is strongly influenced by the similarities in the standard varieties, Serbo-Croatian is indisputably a single language. However, Kordić's reference to a Serbo-Croatian 'linguistic area' indicates that she views Serbo-Croatian in the traditional sense as a monolithic whole, incorporating the traditionally recognized dialect groups (kajkavian, čakavian, štokavian, and Torlak). As discussed above, there are significant structural differences among these groups at all levels: in phonology, morphology, syntax, and the lexicon. Speakers of individual local dialects often have some difficulty understanding one another, and some of the most highly divergent dialects are largely incomprehensible to speakers from other areas. The traditional classification of all these varieties spoken in the central South Slavic region as representing a single Serbo-Croatian language is therefore not based solely on objective linguistic evidence, but is obviously influenced by the fact that these varieties have been considered by many people to be part of the same language since the 19th century, and that Serbo-Croatian was an official state language of the former Yugoslavia. Thus, Kordić appeals to supposedly objective criteria to demonstrate that standard Croatian and Serbian are a single language, but ignores these same criteria when speaking of a Serbo-Croatian linguistic area in the broader sense, which points out the fallacy of her approach.

Similarly, the Serbian linguist Miloš Kovačević (2003: 8) has stated that:

> The Serbian Vukovian literary language is thus the literary language of Serbs and Croats and Montenegrins and Muslims (Bosniaks) alike, and is used not only in Serbia and the Republika Srpska but also in Montenegro, Croatia, and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Like German or English, it is used by several nationalities and in several states. Despite all these different national and territorial uses, its grammatical structure is the same, so that on the structural plane it continues to be a single language.

Kovačević is on somewhat more solid ground than Kordić, since he refers specifically to the standard varieties used in the successor states to the former Yugoslavia, which are in fact virtually identical in structural terms.

Kloss (1967: 31) cites Serbo-Croatian as an example of a polycentric standard language, stating that '(t)he existence of the two variants must not prevent us from treating them as a single language, for there is difference between the two but no intrinsic distance apart from external features like script or spelling which have little or nothing to do with the corpus of the language'. He contrasts Serbo-Croatian with other cases, which he characterizes as 'two ausbau languages which are not based on (spoken) abstand languages'. Kloss describes languages of this type as follows:

> We are dealing with dialects whose speakers would certainly be reported by linguists as constituting a single linguistic community if they were at a preliterate stage. They have, however, created two literary standards, which are based on different dialects and therefore characterized by all-pervading differences which, while not necessarily excluding mutual intelligibility, yet make it impossible to treat them as one unit. (Kloss 1967: 31)

As examples of the latter, he cites Czech and Slovak, or Bulgarian and Macedonian.

We should also mention here the large-scale studies by Jaroszewicz (2004) and Gröschel (2009), who give exhaustive analyses of the standard language situation in the former Yugoslavia. Both of these authors start from the same position as Kloss, that Croatian and Serbian (as well as Bosnian and Montenegrin) can only be considered variants of a single standard language; for them, as for Kloss, Kordić, and other scholars, mutual intelligibility and structural similarities trump all other factors. According to Gröschel, the feelings of native speakers about the autonomy of their language variety is irrelevant for linguistic science (2009: 315–19), and he sees those who accept the idea of distinct Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian languages as victims of political correctness (2009: 367).

However, regardless of the degree of similarity among these varieties, the judgments of Kloss and the other linguists cited here that the linguistic distance between them is insufficient to call them separate languages is in principle arbitrary. As we discussed in Chapter 2, there is no generally accepted measurement of 'linguistic distance', nor do we have any objective standard for the degree of difference that would be necessary to consider two related varieties as representing distinct languages. The fact that other language varieties with comparable differences, such as British and American English, are considered to be a single language is no decisive argument for treating Croatian and Serbian in the same manner. After the United States achieved its independence

from England, there were activists who promoted the idea of a distinct American language. For example:

> You have corrected the dangerous doctrines of European powers, correct now the languages you have imported, for the oppressed of various nations knock at your gates, and desire to be received as your brethren. As you admit them facilitate your intercourse, and you will mutually enjoy the benefits. – The American language will thus be as distinct as the government, free from all the follies of unphilosophical fashion, and resting upon truth as its only regulator. (Thornton 1793: v–vii, quoted by Simpson 1986: 25)

> [...] our honor requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as government. Great Britain [...] should no longer be our standard; for the taste of her writers is already corrupted, and her language on the decline. (Webster 1789, quoted by Tottie 2002: 9)

Debates about the influence of British English and the autonomy of American English and American literature were not limited to the period immediately following the American Revolution, but continued on into the 19th and even 20th centuries (Simpson 1986: 12–13). While linguistic reforms proposed by Noah Webster and others, which were designed in part to create an obviously distinctive American variety, had only limited success, nonetheless a distinct American norm gradually emerged. Because of the particular political and cultural relationship between the US and England, however, the majority of Americans felt no need to overtly declare their language to be something other than English. Americans have preferred to maintain the status quo of 'two nations divided by a common language'.[20]

Despite their own noticeable biases on this issue, Croatian linguists are justified in arguing that sociolinguistic factors should be decisive in determining the status of a standard variety as a separate language. A standard language is obviously a product of conscious human choices, and the decision to declare one's language variety to be a separate standard language is simply one of these choices. The fact that it is structurally similar, closely genetically related, or mutually intelligible with another standard language is essentially irrelevant. Furthermore, as we will show in the next chapter, a closer examination of the evolution of standard languages in the central South Slavic region reveals that they are in fact the product of different choices over a long period of development and have been shaped by different cultural and linguistic practices throughout their history.

4
The History of Croatian and Serbian Standardization

Introduction

As mentioned above, the conception of Serbo-Croatian as a single standard language, which was promoted in the second half of the 19th century and especially in the 20th century after the formation of a unified Yugoslav state, usually involved a specific interpretation of its standardization. In the simplest terms, according to this version the long and complex history of writing in the Croatian lands was portrayed as completely fragmented, with differences in orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, and the lexicon, which varied from region to region and even among individual authors. A coherent supraregional norm developed only in the late 19th century, when the Croats were said to have adopted the standard language proposed by the Serbian language reformer Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. The so-called Vienna Literary Agreement, which declared that '*one* people must have *one* literature' and was signed in 1850 by Vuk, his student Đuro Daničić, and several prominent Croatian intellectual and literary figures, was seen as a decisive turning point in the development of a modern standard language among the Croats.

Consequently, the contemporary standard language as used in Croatia was represented as a sharp break from the earlier written tradition, particularly the kajkavian-based norm that had become dominant in Zagreb and the rest of northern Croatia in the 18th and early 19th centuries. In this respect, the situation in the Croatian territory was similar to that in Serbia, where written norms based on Church Slavic were abandoned for a standard language based on the vernacular, as championed by Vuk. This overly simplified picture of language standardization in the region, leading to the creation of a unified Serbo-Croatian

norm, was useful for the political goal of creating a sense of Yugoslavian national identity that could transcend ethnic divisions, and it gained traction both within Yugoslavia and abroad. However, in the 20th century, Croatian linguists began to contest this interpretation of history, arguing that the Croatian language had followed its own, essentially independent path of development over the centuries and had always constituted a coherent entity distinct from Serbian, from the time of the first written monuments up until the present.[1] Through their intensive research into the history of Croatian literature and the writing of early grammars and dictionaries, Croatian scholars have amassed evidence to support an alternative interpretation of the history of the language, but have also sometimes gone too far by claiming that a standardized language was already in existence in the 18th century (see, for example, HAZU 2005: 42). Because of the importance of this topic for an understanding of more recent debates about the status of Croatian and its significance for Croatian national identity, we will provide a survey of the history of the language here, focusing mainly on the 19th and 20th centuries.[2]

One of the difficulties in dealing with the history of the Croatian language and its closest relatives is the turbulent history of this region as a whole, which was long dominated by competing foreign powers whose areas of control frequently shifted. These changes also provoked migrations of significant segments of the population, which altered the interrelationships between the different linguistic and ethnic groups. When speaking about older historical periods, the terms used to refer to different languages or peoples are often ambiguous and cannot simply be equated with modern names and the concepts they represent, as has frequently been done. It is particularly problematic when authors gloss over this problem by 'translating' the earlier terms into their presumed modern equivalents, ignoring the different names used in the original documents.[3] On the other hand, we must also recognize the fact that we face the same problem in discussing the history of many other modern national groups and their languages, so Croatian is not exceptional in this respect. Although at a given point in time authors may have been living in what was part of the Republic of Venice or of the Austrian or Ottoman Empires, and may have referred to their language using some name other than 'Croatian', this does not necessarily imply that these works are not part of the Croatian literary tradition in the modern sense of the term. While we must be careful not to attribute modern concepts of national or linguistic identity to groups of people who simply could not have held such ideas, it is still legitimate to treat the linguistic practices of earlier

periods and the products of their literary activity and linguistic scholarship as part of the history of the Croatian language, if they involve areas and groups of people that later came to be identified as Croatian in the modern sense. This same practice is routinely applied to other languages and literary traditions; it becomes controversial in the Croatian context only because of the competing claims to parts of this same tradition that are made by other groups. For example, the writings of Catholic missionaries working in the Franciscan province of Bosnia in the 17th and 18th centuries are considered an integral part of the Croatian literary tradition because of their cultural ties to other regional Croatian literatures and the influence that these works had on the further development of the Croatian literary language. Although these writers themselves often referred to the language they used as 'Bosnian', this term had a different connotation in their time than it does today.

Similarly, the works of Renaissance and Baroque writers from Dubrovnik, despite their obvious connections to the western, Catholic cultural sphere, are also claimed by some to be part of the Serbian literary tradition, or at least part of a common Serbo-Croatian literature (see Ivić 1971: 141–2). In 2010, the Matica srpska cultural organization published a volume of poetry from Dubrovnik and Boka Kotorska in its series *Ten centuries of Serbian literature* (Bojović 2010) which provoked a strong negative reaction in Croatia, including a formal protest from the Croatian Ministry of Culture (see, for example, Derk 2011 and Franić Tomić 2011). However, the facts that Dubrovnik traded and corresponded with the surrounding Serbian lands and that there was a Serbian Chancellery in Dubrovnik, or that Dubrovnik writers referred to the medieval Serbian kingdom and heroes of Serbian epic poetry, are not sufficient evidence to claim that Dubrovnik literature is somehow Serbian. The Renaissance and Baroque literature of Dubrovnik influenced Croatian writers from other regions and was felt to be an integral part of the Croatian literary tradition, despite the fact that Dubrovnik was an independent republic and its citizens did not identify as Croats until much later. These works did not play the same role in the Serbian literary tradition; their influence on the contemporary Serbian language is due to the work of Vuk, who took this literature as one of the models for his reform of the Serbian language in the 19th century (see below).

From the beginning of Slavic literacy until the 18th century

The development of Slavic literacy among the Croats was significantly influenced by their geographical position near the shifting boundary

between Roman and Byzantine spheres of influence. *Slavia romana* and *Slavia orthodoxa* are a pair of concepts introduced in Slavic studies by Picchio (1984) as a way to characterize the different cultural influences and different attitudes towards the written language in Slavic lands under the jurisdiction of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, respectively. We should note that these concepts do not correspond directly to discrete territories or administrative regions, but rather refer to different cultural traditions whose historical boundaries cannot always be sharply defined. The territories of Croatia and Bosnia, in particular, represent a zone of mixed or overlapping influence (see Picchio 1984: 3). Church Slavic[4] served as a supranational language within *Slavia orthodoxa*, but because of its similarity to the spoken languages, it was often treated as a 'vernacular' by both the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. The eventual creation of written national languages in *Slavia orthodoxa* was inextricably bound up with the prestige and norms of Church Slavic, both because of this similarity and because of different conceptions of written culture that existed within this sphere. In *Slavia romana*, Latin functioned as an international language, the prestige of which was never questioned. However, it was a completely foreign language for the Slavs. The dignity of Latin could not be used to promote the status of Slavic languages, and attempts to codify the latter were necessarily independent of the norms of Latin. The development of native literary languages in *Slavia romana* largely followed Western European models, since they were part of the same cultural sphere (Picchio 1984: 25–6).

Although writing in Church Slavic had been established on a part of the Croatian territory when it was under Byzantine control, after Croatia definitively came under the jurisdiction of the Western Church following the Great Schism of 1054, the competing use of Latin in the Church and in governmental structures meant that Church Slavic and its norms did not have unrivaled status, as it did in the Orthodox lands. For this reason, elements of the local vernacular were quickly incorporated into Church Slavic on the Croatian territory (see Banac 1984a: 198–9). Although Croatian literature up through the 15th century was characterized by a cohesive Church Slavic component, there were increasingly frequent uses of čakavian and štokavian elements, primarily in non-liturgical texts. The differences among local vernacular dialects were not very great at this time, and we can reasonably speak of a single Croatian literature up into the 15th century, albeit with a very narrow reading public (Brozović 1978: 29–30).

The political situation of Croatia and the rapid increase in the production of secular literary works as well as of religious works in the

vernacular led to the development of different regional literatures in the 16th through 18th centuries. A sovereign Croatian state had been established in the 10th century when Tomislav (reigned 910–ca 929) managed to unite Dalmatia and Pannonia under his rule and assumed the title of king with the permission of the pope. At its peak, the medieval Croatian kingdom encompassed most of modern-day Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and part of Montenegro, but it did not survive as an independent state for very long. It was weakened as a result of warfare between competing factions of the Croatian nobility, who eventually recognized the Hungarian ruler Kalman as their king in 1102. Venice later managed to wrest control of much of the coast and islands from Hungary, and Bosnia also gradually broke away from Hungarian rule, only to fall later to the Ottomans in their conquest of the Balkans. After the Ottomans defeated the Hungarians at Mohács in 1526, the Croats elected Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, as their king, and Austria eventually gained control over most of the historically Croatian territory. Croatia remained under Habsburg rule until the end of World War I, but it was administratively divided into different units within the Austrian Empire.

Writing in the mixed Church Slavic/čakavian variety, which was centered in the northwestern coastal region, declined in importance after the 15th century, and over the next three centuries a number of different vernacular literatures developed. On the Dalmatian coast and islands a literature based on the southern ikavian čakavian dialect of the region flourished in the 16th and 17th centuries. This literature had close contacts with the ijekavian štokavian literature of Dubrovnik, which produced the greatest writers of the Renaissance and Baroque periods in the Croatian lands. An ikavian štokavian literature developed in the Franciscan province of Bosnia, which extended from the Dalmatian coast into Slavonia. Slavonia became increasingly influential in the production of linguistic and literary works after it was transferred from Ottoman to Austrian control at the turn of the 17th–18th centuries. Finally, a kajkavian-based literature developed in northern Croatia beginning in the 16th century.

Despite the seemingly fractured nature of the literary landscape in this period, there is evidence that writers participated in a broader western South Slavic literary community and were writing for an audience that was not limited to their own immediate environment. Authors belonging to different regional literary circles corresponded with one another, made references to one another's works, and used lexical items or phonological features from these other dialects in their own works.

Writers also used 'contact synonyms' (forms from different dialects with the same meaning that appear side by side in texts), both as a stylistic device and as a way of making their texts accessible to a broader public. A similar awareness of the broader linguistic community is seen in grammars and dictionaries, which began to appear in Croatia in the 16th century. Such works necessarily make explicit references to the name of the language, and typically provide some description of its geographic extent, so they are useful for determining how educated people of a given period conceived of their linguistic community. The authors of these works referred to the language in various ways. Although the name 'Croatian' already occurs with some frequency in earlier texts in reference to the language, grammars and dictionaries from the 16th–18th centuries most often use the general term 'Slavic' or regional names: Dalmatian, Bosnian, Slavonian, Illyrian (Barić et al. 1995: 17; Knežević 2007). The latter of these names can be understood as referring generally to the western Balkans, an area that had been inhabited by an earlier people known as the Illyrians. After their conquest by the Romans, the western Balkans became an administrative region of the empire known as Illyricum. It was later divided into the provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia, but the name Illyria also continued to be used. The choice of the name 'Illyrian' for many grammars and dictionaries thus indicates that these works were intended for a broader audience and not just the speakers of one particular dialect. However, the same is often true for works that use other names for the language, as seen in statements by their authors and in the linguistic material that they include.[5]

The 19th century

Historical background

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia (the latter of which included part of Vojvodina, in modern Serbia) were under the jurisdiction of Hungary within the Austrian Empire. However, a significant portion of the historical Croatian and Slavonian territory was part of the Military Frontier (*Vojna krajina*) which had been created in the 16th century as a buffer zone along the border with the Ottoman Empire and was under direct Austrian control. The Krajina had a large Orthodox Christian population, who had settled in the region at the invitation of the Habsburgs. The origin of these settlers is disputed; they were often referred to as Vlachs or Morlachs, but in the 19th century they began to identify themselves definitively as Serbs (Tanner 1997: 39). In addition to this Orthodox population in

the Krajina, large numbers of Orthodox Serbs had also migrated from Ottoman-held territory to Civil Slavonia in the late 17th century (the Great Serb Migration; see Tanner 1997: 54–5).

After the defeat of the First Coalition against revolutionary France in 1797, Austria acquired Venice's possessions in Dalmatia, then was forced to cede them to France in 1805. France also took control of the previously independent city-state of Dubrovnik and established the Illyrian Provinces, stretching from the coast of Montenegro in the south up into Slovenia and Austria. During the last phase of the Napoleonic Wars, Austria regained control of this territory in the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The newly declared Kingdom of Dalmatia, together with Istria, was placed under direct Austrian jurisdiction.

The Croatian lands were caught up in the rising tide of nationalism in the 18th and 19th centuries, and there was widespread discontent with Austrian rule. The historical rights retained by the Croatian parliament (the Sabor) had been curtailed, and the Habsburgs rejected its demands for control over the Military Frontier and for the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia and Slavonia (referred to jointly as the Triune Kingdom).[6] During this time, Croats were also concerned with the defense and expansion of their linguistic rights. Rising Hungarian nationalism led to attempts to impose the use of the Hungarian language in the areas under Hungary's jurisdiction. After the revolutions of 1848, the new Minister of the Interior Alexander Bach centralized the administration of the empire, imposing politically repressive policies and enforcing the use of German. However, in 1867, jurisdiction over Croatia and Slavonia was transferred back to Hungary and policies of Magyarization were revived. Attempts among the Slavic peoples of the western Balkans to create modern standard languages must be understood against this broader historical background. Linguistic reformers in Croatia, in particular, were also strongly influenced by Pan-Slavic ideals promoting unity among the various Slavic peoples. According to the Slovak Ján Kollár, who was one of the main ideologists of Pan-Slavism, all of the Slavs constituted a single people, speaking four different dialects: Russian, Polish, Czecho-Slovak, and Illyrian (= South Slavic; Kollár 1853: 5). This concept of a common Illyrian national and linguistic identity for the South Slavs played a crucial role in the early attempts to create a standard language for the Croats.

The linguistic situation at the beginning of the 19th century

By the beginning of the 19th century, there were essentially two written varieties that could potentially serve as the basis for the development of

a modern standard language among the Croats: the kajkavian literary variety, or the variety used in ikavian and ijekavian štokavian literature (see Brozović 1978: 48). Kajkavian had a more limited geographic range, but this territory included Zagreb, the political, cultural, and spiritual center of Civil Croatia. On the other hand, the most highly esteemed works of literature up to this time had been written in štokavian, and štokavian speakers greatly outnumbered both kajkavian and čakavian speakers.

Croatian literature as a whole was still marked by a substantial amount of linguistic variation reflecting influences from different dialects. By this time the Latin alphabet had more or less completely supplanted both Glagolitic and Cyrillic, which had predominated in certain parts of the Croatian territory in the past, but there was not yet a single orthographical norm. The 23 characters used to write Latin are not sufficient to represent all of the sounds of the Slavic languages, and over the course of time different writers had proposed different solutions for the Croatian orthography. A fairly consistent system using digraphs on the model of Hungarian had developed for kajkavian by the 19th century. Štokavian writers historically used a combination of digraphs (or trigraphs), diacritic marks, or other special characters, with an influence of Italian spelling practices clearly visible in Dalmatia as opposed to Hungarian influence in Slavonia. By the beginning of the 19th century, the two main models of Croatian štokavian orthography had also begun to converge.

The first part of the 19th century saw the publication of linguistic works that continued the trend towards the increasing importance and interdependence of ikavian and ijekavian štokavian writing that had begun in the preceding century. Francesco Maria Appendini's *Grammatica della lingua Illirica* (Dubrovnik, 1808) was based mainly on the dialect of Dubrovnik, but also included ikavian forms from Dalmatia and Bosnia. Joachim Stulli's three-volume dictionary (each in two parts) – *Lexicon latino-italico-illyricum* (Buda, 1801), *Rjecsosloxje ilirsko-italijansko-latinsko* (Dubrovnik, 1806), and *Vocabolario italiano-illirico-latino* (Dubrovnik, 1810) – was also based primarily on works by Dubrovnik authors, but his sources included earlier dictionaries and literature from other regions of Bosnia and Croatia, too (Moguš 1995: 141–5). Šime Starčević of Lika published a grammar entitled *Nova ricsoslovica iliricska* (Trieste, 1812), which was based on the ikavian dialect, with the goal of unifying the linguistic practices of the coastal region and Slavonia (Moguš 1995: 146). We should also mention Matija Petar Katančić's translation of the complete Bible into the ikavian štokavian

variety, which was published posthumously in 1831. This was a milestone which helped to further cement the literary status of štokavian (Moguš 1995: 137–9).

The national revival and the Illyrian Movement

Croatian intellectuals were, of course, aware of the awakening of national sentiment among their neighbors and were concerned about the poor state of education and culture in the Croatian lands. In 1825, in all of the Triune Kingdom there were only six secondary schools, four theological seminaries, and one institution of secular higher education (the Zagreb Academy, which offered courses in law and philosophy), and few Croats even attended primary school. Latin was the language of instruction beyond the primary level, as well as the language used in the Sabor and governmental administration, and Hungary repeatedly tried to introduce the use of Hungarian in these spheres. In Zagreb and other cities in Civil Croatia and Slavonia, German was the language most commonly heard in the streets, while in the coastal cities Italian was widely used. There were no newspapers published in Croatian, in part because there did not appear to be enough potential subscribers to sustain one (Despalatović 1975: 19–20).[7] Despite the shared influences among the different Croatian written traditions and the sense, at least among many intellectuals, that these regional literatures were all part of the same language, the fact is that there was no single variety that the majority of speakers could identify with and that could perform all necessary functions. In response to this situation, a number of public figures published declarations advocating the preservation of the Croatian language and cultural heritage and warning against foreign linguistic influences.

One of the first and most famous declarations of this type was the circular sent by Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovec on 26 June 1813 to the clergy of the Zagreb diocese directing them to collect folklore in the Illyrian language.[8] Vrhovec explains the term 'Illyrian' as referring to Croatian (that is, kajkavian, according to the usage of this name at the time) and Slavonian (štokavian), both of which were spoken in his diocese. Although he was inspired by the Romantic movement, he did not focus exclusively on folklore and the language of the common people, but also included the long tradition of writing in 'our native language', as he puts it. Vrhovec makes use of Romantic concepts concerning the purity, richness, and beauty of the native language, which he says is governed first of all by general custom (usage). However, he also mentions in the same sentence the authority of the best writers of

the language, so it is clear that he does not elevate one of these over the other. The 'folk' for him, therefore, did not represent the exclusive model that they did for Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in Serbia.

Another important declaration was published in Vienna in 1815 by Antun Mihanović, entitled *A word to the homeland about the value of writing in the native language* (*Rech domovini o hasznovitozti piszanya vu domorodnom jeziku*). Mihanović bemoaned the backwardness of the Croatian people, who bore 'the yoke of foreign languages', had no scientific terminology in their own language, and were even 'ashamed to speak it' (quoted by Moguš 1995: 160). This work represents one of the foundations of the Illyrian Movement, which would be led by Ljudevit Gaj.

In 1830, in Budapest,[9] the 21-year-old Gaj published an orthographical textbook in German and Croatian under the title *A brief foundation of Croatian-Slavic orthography* (*Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisaña*).[10] The text begins with a manifesto, with the goal (like Mihanović's *Rech domovini*) of changing the attitude of Croats toward their native language. Gaj was aware that a reform of the orthographical system was a prerequisite for Croatian to be able to function as a modern standardized medium of written communication, and he proposed the use of diacritic marks to represent palatal consonants.[11] Since he was describing the kajkavian (*horvatski*) pronunciation, he did not include a symbol for the sound represented by the modern *ć*, but it seemed that he already had in mind the possibility of his reformed spelling being adopted by štokavian speakers as well as Slovenes. He justified the introduction of diacritic marks, which represented a departure from previous kajkavian orthographic practices, by pointing out that the Poles, Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks used similar systems (Banac 1984a: 217–18). Thus, a Pan-Slavic orientation is already visible in Gaj's first linguistic publication.

After completing his studies at the University of Pest in 1831, Gaj returned to Croatia and moved to Zagreb in January 1832. He soon became the center of a group of young men who wanted to bring about a cultural and political awakening of the Croatian people. To promote this goal, they formed the Illyrian Society (Družtvo ilirsko – Societas culturae illyricae), the name of which was proposed by Gaj (Despalatović 1975: 63–4). The name 'Illyrian' had the advantages of being founded in antiquity, which lent historical weight to their program, but also of being sufficiently vague to be potentially acceptable to any or all of the South Slavic nations. The first publication to appear out of this new group was a political pamphlet by Ivan Derkos entitled *The spirit of the country over its sleeping sons* (*Genius patriae super dormientibus suis filiis,*

1832). Derkos argues for the creation of a unified literary language based on a blending of all three major dialects, by adopting the most suitable elements from each. This is envisioned as a gradual process that would take place over several decades, and he reassures his fellow kajkavian speakers by saying:

> Do not think that you can and must take everything from the Slavonian and Dalmatian dialect as good; by no means, they must also give way to us in many things. What they have is not all good either, on the contrary, much can be found in their dialect that is worse than ours. (quoted by Bašić 1991: 92–3)

A different conception of the basis for a national language can be seen in the *Disertatia iliti Razgovor* published by Count Janko Drašković, also in 1832. He wrote this pamphlet in the štokavian dialect, rather than Latin or kajkavian, stating: 'I have chosen for my discourse our language (*naški jezik*), desiring to prove that we do have a national language, in which it is possible to say everything that the heart and mind require'. He justifies this decision by citing the wide geographic extent of the štokavian dialect and the rich tradition of Croatian literature written in it (Bašić 1991: 91–2). Drašković had not yet met Gaj at this point, but he later came to play an important role in the Illyrian Movement.

Gaj and his followers realized that a newspaper would be the best way to bring their ideas to the widest possible audience, and Gaj began the lengthy process required to gain permission from the Habsburg authorities (Despalatović 1975: 68). This permission was granted in 1834, and in October of that year Gaj published an announcement of his intention to begin publishing *Novine Horvatzke* (*The Croatian News*), together with a literary supplement entitled *Danicza Horvatzka, Slavonzka y Dalmatinzka* (*The Morning Star of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia*). *Danica* (using the modernized spelling) was viewed as the main standard bearer for the Illyrian Movement. Although it was to be printed primarily in kajkavian, it was aimed at teaching readers about the broader South Slavic community and would also contain items printed in other dialects (Despalatović 1975: 77–8). The first issues of *Novine* and *Danica* appeared in January 1835. Although both of these papers started out using the established kajkavian orthography, as early as March 1835, Gaj published an article entitled 'Pravopisz' in *Danica* in which he outlined his proposal for a revised orthography (*Danica* I, issues 10–12, 14 March 1835, 21 March 1835, 28 March 1835). The differences between this new proposal and his *Kratka osnova* of 1830 make it clear that Gaj

was hoping to create a broader South Slavic literary language, and as in this earlier work he justified his innovations by citing the usage of other Slavic peoples. In 'Pravopisz' he argues for the adoption of *č, ž, š* as used by the Czechs, Slovaks, and Moravians. He also proposes the use of *ć* (as in Polish) or *tj* to spell the affricate [tɕ], a phoneme that is not present in kajkavian and therefore not accounted for in his *Kratka osnova*. On the basis of usage in Dalmatia and Slovenia, he proposes the adoption of the digraphs *lj, nj, dj, gj*, which also represent a departure from his earlier proposal.[12] With respect to vowels, he notes that in many words kajkavian speakers (*Horvati*) pronounce and write *e*, while 'other Illyrians' pronounce and write *i* or *ie*, and he proposes the use of the letter *ě* for these forms, which everyone would be allowed to pronounce according to his or her own custom (*Danica* I/10: 40). Although Gaj does not discuss this question explicitly, he maintains the generally morphophonemic (or 'etymological')[13] principle of spelling that had already been in use. His goal was simply to introduce a consistent system of diacritic marks and digraphs to represent various sounds. The new orthography was introduced immediately in *Danica*; two poems were printed in this orthography in the same issue as the first installment of Gaj's 'Pravopisz' article (*Danica* I/10: 37–8), and beginning with issue 29 the new spelling system was used exclusively (Despalatović 1975: 84).

In the first year of *Danica*, Gaj also published an article extolling the virtues of the mother tongue and its importance for national identity, which clearly draws on ideas of Herder, Fichte, and other philosophers who inspired the movement of Romantic nationalism (see Despalatović 1975: 84–6). This was followed by a series of articles promoting the ideology of Pan-Slavism, which were intended to convince the readers that they were part of one great Slavic nation, the largest in Europe. In his article 'Naš narod' ('Our people', *Danica* I/34, 29 August 1835), Gaj identifies two major branches of the Slavic people, each consisting of two subgroups: Illyrian-Russian and Czech-Polish (*Danica* I/34: 235). The inhabitants of Gaj's 'Greater Illyria' consist of Slovenes, Croats, Slavonians, Dalmatians, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Serbs, and Bulgarians (235–6).[14] Gaj also published a series of articles about Slavic folk poetry, which he wrote or adapted from other sources. These articles emphasize the richness of the folk poetic tradition among the Illyrian Slavs and the importance of this oral literature for their language, history, and culture. Vuk's collections of Serbian folk poetry are given special attention in the third of these articles (Despalatović 1975: 88–9). Finally, in December 1835, Gaj published the first of a series of manifestos, in which he explained the ideas and goals of the Illyrian Movement ('Proglas' ['Proclamation'],

Danica I/48: 292–3, 5 December 1835).[15] He announced that the name of the literary supplement would be changed to *Danica Ilirska*,[16] and that it would educate its readers about the Slavic nation as a whole, and in particular about Greater Illyria. Here Gaj defines Illyrians as South Slavs, specifically as Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (292). He says that *Danica* will continue to publish a variety of native poetry, since this is important for the formation of the language and soul of the nation (ibid.). Although Gaj had begun writing in *Danica* in a kajkavian-based idiom, by this point he had switched to štokavian, which he acknowledges indirectly by mentioning complaints by readers that 'this newspaper means to turn us into Vlachs' (that is, Serbs; *Ove Novine imadu naměru iz nas Vlahe načiniti*) or that 'everything is mixed up here, the language is just being spoiled' (*Ovdě se sve měša, ovdě se samo jezik kvari*) (293). Gaj responds to this by saying:

> [...] in Illyria there can be only one true literary language, we do not seek it in one place or one country, but in all of Greater Illyria. [*U Ilirii može šamo* [sic] *jedan jezik pravi književni biti, njega netražmo u jednom městu, ili u jednoj deržavi, nego u cěloj velikoj Ilirii].* (ibid.)

The first grammar of this new Illyrian literary language was published in *Danica* by Vjekoslav Babukić in March and April 1836 (*Danica* II/10–15), under the title 'Osnova slovnice slavjanske narěčja ilirskoga', and was republished separately as a book in the same year. Babukić followed the orthographic principles proposed by Gaj in 1835, including the use of the letter *ě* to represent the various reflexes of Common Slavic **ě*. He stated that the intention was not to prescribe how this should be pronounced in everyday speech (either as *je*, *ie*, *e*, or *i*), but that for the sake of Illyrian unity it was necessary to always spell these words with *ě*, and that at least in reading it would be best to pronounce this letter as *je* (*Danica* II/10: 38, 5 March 1836).[17] With respect to morphology, Babukić prescribes the older oblique plural endings for nouns, which are common in kajkavian and čakavian dialects, instead of the newer syncretic forms found in neoštokavian dialects; for example G.PL *jelenah/jelenov* 'deer', *selah* 'village', *ženah* 'woman';[18] D.PL *jelenom, selom, ženam*, I.PL *jeleni, seli, ženami*, L.PL *jelenih, selih, ženah* (*Danica* II/11: 42, 44; *Danica* II/12: 46). At the same time, he also mentions the extended masculine plural forms in *-ov* that are typical of štokavian (for example, N.PL *sokolovi* 'falcon'; *Danica* II/12: 45).

The members of the Illyrian Movement were thus concerned with the development of a modern literary language that could unite the broader

South Slavic territory, not just to reunify the historical Croatian lands, but also to join the Croats together with all of their South Slavic kin. They proposed orthographical solutions to eliminate the variation that had previously characterized South Slavic writing in the Latin alphabet. Although many of the members of this group were native speakers of the kajkavian dialect, they recognized that the kajkavian literary language used in Civil Croatia at the time would not be suitable for the broader population that they hoped to unite into a single nation. Despite resistance from some quarters against the abandonment of kajkavian (see Banac 1984a: 223), the Illyrians settled on štokavian as the basis for the standard language, for a number of reasons. Štokavian speakers represented the majority in the Triune Kingdom, and Serbia as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina were exclusively štokavian.[19] The Illyrians were particularly conscious of the political need to attract the štokavian-speaking Serbs living in the Krajina and Slavonia to their cause. They were also influenced by the rich štokavian literary tradition, particularly the ijekavian literature of Dubrovnik. While they shared the Romantic passion of their time for folk poetry as a repository of the native language and culture, they placed equal value on the cultivated language of written literature, and their conception of the standard language incorporated elements from all three major dialect groups, as had been characteristic of Croatian literary and linguistic works in the past. However, it must also be said that the efforts of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić to create a modern literary language for the Serbs, based on the ijekavian štokavian dialect of East Herzegovina, also played a significant role in the linguistic efforts of the Illyrians.

The Serbian literary tradition and the reforms of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić

As part of *Slavia orthodoxa*, the inhabitants of the Serbian lands had a different relationship towards the literary language than the Croats did. The earliest phase of Serbian Church Slavic literature was arguably richer than the Glagolitic literature in Croatia at that time; the latter consisted primarily of translations, while in Serbia there was more original sacred literature (Ivić 1984: 314). Serbian Church Slavic exhibited only minor phonological and orthographical changes from the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition of Old Church Slavic, while in the Croatian lands Church Slavic was adapted much more rapidly towards the local vernacular. Because of the primacy of Latin in the Western Church, there was no organized education of priests in Church Slavic, nor any systematic enforcement of Church Slavic linguistic norms in

Croatia; and in the majority of parishes where Latin was the liturgical language, there was presumably a greater desire for texts in a language that would be comprehensible to the members of the congregation. In the sphere of the Orthodox Church, the Church Slavic language used in the liturgy was experienced not as a foreign language but simply as a more elevated style of the language spoken by the people (see Ivić 1984: 314; Peti-Stantić 2008b: 131–42).

Over time, elements of the vernacular penetrated into written usage in Serbia as well, primarily in secular texts. There are remnants of translations of chivalric literature, for which Church Slavic was obviously not suited, as well as texts of an administrative, legal, or business nature, which also exhibit a greater or lesser degree of vernacular influence. One particularly rich source of evidence for the written language of this period is the correspondence between Dubrovnik and the Serbian and Bosnian hinterland preserved in the Dubrovnik archives; the earliest of these texts date to the late 12th/early 13th century. This natural development of the written language was essentially brought to a halt, however, with the Ottoman conquest of Serbia. The Serbian nobility were destroyed, Orthodox Christians were subject to persecution, and the possibility of any systematic education for either the clergy or laypeople was eliminated. The number of potential readers was thus greatly reduced. The Orthodox Church became virtually the sole carrier of the Serbian written tradition, and its role was limited mainly to the copying and preservation of existing texts. Very few new works were produced, and vernacular texts from the mid-15th century up into the 18th century are particularly rare. In addition, many of the manuscripts that existed before the Ottoman period were lost or destroyed, which contributed to the impoverishment of Serbian written culture.

In the late 17th and early 18th centuries the Austrian Empire acquired some territory with a predominantly Serbian population from the Ottoman Empire, and also received a large number of Serbian refugees from areas that remained under Ottoman control. The members of the Serbian Orthodox Church hierarchy were recognized as both the civil and religious leaders of these new Serbian subjects of the Austrian Empire. There was a dire need for education, and the Serbian Church was forced to appeal to Russia, due to a lack of books and teachers of its own. This brought the use of Russian Church Slavic into the Serbian community, and it soon became the exclusive language of the Serbian Orthodox Church in its new metropolitanate in the Austrian Empire,[20] as well as the main language of the Serbian schools. The contemporary

Russian language of the time also came into use among educated Serbs in the second half of the 18th century.

When the authorities in Vienna finally allowed the printing of Serbian books in 1770, this changed the literary landscape again. Neither Church Slavic (in either its Serbian or Russian recensions) nor Russian was suitable for secular publications aimed at a broader audience, and a mixed language known as Slavo-Serbian (*slavenosrpski*) developed, which combined elements of Church Slavic, Russian, and the vernacular. No grammar or dictionary of this language was ever written, and authors used elements freely from all of its component parts, particularly its enormous lexical stock. As a result, this language represented a barrier to the expansion of literacy and democratization of culture that were demanded by the times. In 1783, the prominent Serbian author and educator Dositej Obradović called for the creation of a literary language based on the vernacular, but he never published any systematic proposals for reform, and his own language retained bookish and archaic elements (Ivić 1984: 323–4).[21]

The beginning of the 19th century saw two major rebellions of the Serbs against the Ottomans (in 1804 and 1815), and in 1830, Serbia became an autonomous principality within the Ottoman Empire. It is against this background of the struggle for Serbian independence that Vuk Stefanović Karadžić began his work of reforming the Serbian literary language. Like Gaj, Vuk spent time in Budapest and Vienna, and was influenced by the work of the leading Slavic philologists of the time. He had a particularly close association with Jernej Kopitar, who believed that the developing national languages for the Slavs in the Austrian Empire should be based on the language spoken by the people, with grammatical rules derived from actual popular usage, and that different dialects or older and newer forms of the language should not be deliberately mixed in the standardization of these languages (Wilson 1970: 85).[22] Kopitar was interested in the collection of folk poetry, stories, and sayings, both as a representation of national culture and of the vernacular speech, and he urged Vuk to begin recording and publishing Serbian folk songs (Wilson 1970: 87ff.). The first volume appeared in Vienna in 1814, entitled *A small Slavo-Serbian songbook of the common people* (*Mala prostonarodna slaveno-serbska pesnarica*), based primarily on Vuk's own recollection of songs he had heard as a child. The second volume, *Serbian folk songbook* (*Narodna serbska pesnarica*, 1815), reproduced folk songs he collected among Serbs living in Hungary, with sources identified by name. In this and his subsequent work, Vuk contributed to the development of scholarly principles of collecting folklore, and he

eventually published a total of six volumes of folk songs, plus a volume of folk tales and one of proverbs and sayings (Bisztray 2002: 242).

At the same time, Vuk also began his attempts to codify a literary language for the Serbs, with Kopitar again providing the initial impetus, as well as advice and assistance in this task. In 1814, Vuk published his *Grammar of the Serbian language according to the speech of the common people* (*Pismenica serbskoga jezika po govoru prostoga naroda*). The orthography used in Serbian literature up to this time retained letters and spellings inherited from Church Slavic that did not correspond to the modern Serbian pronunciation. In his grammar, Vuk adopted some of the ideas for reforming the Serbian Cyrillic alphabet that had been proposed by Sava Mrkalj in 1810, and stated that the spelling of words should reflect their pronunciation, adopting the principle of Johann Christoph Adelung (1732–1806): 'Schreib wie du sprichst'.[23]

> The first and greatest criticism that this grammar of mine will encounter will concern the method of spelling. In truth I also doubted and pondered much about this, but finally it seemed to me that the easiest way to refine Serbian orthography is according to this principle: 'Write as you speak; and read as it is written.' Everyone will recognize that the kind of orthography that comes under this principle is the best and easiest. (Karadžić 1814b: x)

However, in his grammar, Vuk had not yet worked out his orthographical system completely, and was still influenced by traditional spelling principles, as can immediately be seen in the title (*serbskoga*, as opposed to his later spelling *srpskoga*).

In 1815, Vuk began work on his *Serbian dictionary* (*Srpski rječnik*), which was published in 1818 and included a revised version of his Serbian grammar. Here Vuk's version of the Cyrillic alphabet was almost in its final form, and the phonological principle of spelling is consistently applied. Although he consulted earlier dictionaries by Della Bella, Belostenec, Jambrešić, Stulli, and others (see Bašić 1991: 40–1), which were lent to him by Kopitar, he was committed to the idea of creating a dictionary of the language of the common people, so he only included words that he believed were actually used in Serbian speech at that time or that were attested in Serbian folklore. He later claimed that he did not rely on these earlier dictionaries at all but mostly wrote down words 'out of [his] own head' (Wilson 1970: 114). The entries are given according to the phonology of his native East Herzegovinian ijekavian dialect: they exhibit secondary palatalizations before the reflex of short

**ě* (*đevojka* < *djevojka* 'girl', *ćerati* < *tjerati* 'to drive'); the loss of *h* (*ora* < *orah* 'walnut', *mua* < *muha* 'fly'); the change of *mn* > *ml* (*mlogi* < *mnogi* 'many'), simplification of consonant clusters by deletion (*tica* < *ptica*), and so on (Bašić 1991: 44). The Serbian words are provided with German and Latin translations, for which Vuk relied on Kopitar's help (Wilson 1970: 117). The morphology described in his grammar is consistently neoštokavian; for example, he lists only syncretic dative/instrumental/locative plural forms in his sample paradigms (DIL.PL *jelenima, selima, ženama*, and so on; compare the forms cited above for Babukić's Illyrian grammar, such as D.PL *jelenom*, I.PL *jeleni*, L.PL *jelenih*). Vuk mentions in footnotes that older non-syncretic endings are attested in some places, but are rarely or never heard in Serbia, Bosnia, or Herzegovina (Karadžić 1818: xxxvii).

Karadžić spent much of the winter of 1834–1835 in Dubrovnik, in between visits to Montenegro to collect folklore, and during this time he studied the Dubrovnik dialect. He became convinced that the language of Dubrovnik represented the 'true Herzegovinian language', and was disconcerted by the fact that some of the phonological features that he had insisted on earlier, on the basis of his native dialect, were not present in the speech of Dubrovnik. Shortly before the publication of his *Serbian folk sayings* (*Narodne srpske poslovice*) in 1836, he introduced the phoneme *h* into the manuscript and attempted to revise other spellings to reflect the Dubrovnik pronunciation (for example, *mn, tje, dje* in place of *ml, će, đe*), although these changes were not carried out consistently (Bašić 1991: 58). In the 1840s, his ideas about the standard language achieved their final form: he argued for a standardized language for all Serbs based on the 'southern dialect' (that is, the 'true Herzegovinian' type found in Dubrovnik and neighboring regions), and relaxed his insistence on the language of uneducated rural speakers as the only acceptable model. He cited a number of reasons in favor of the choice of the 'southern dialect': it is widespread among Serbs; almost all folk songs are in this dialect; it is the closest to the old Slavonic language;[24] it is the language used by well-known Dubrovnik writers; and, significantly, it would promote union with 'our brothers of the Roman rite' (Bašić 1991: 59–60).

Vuk's proposals for the Serbian language initially met with a great deal of resistance, both from intellectuals who did not want to abandon their cultivated Slavo-Serbian language for the language of 'shepherds and swineherds' (see Wilson 1970: 87), and from the Orthodox Church, which was vehemently opposed to his orthographical changes (particularly the introduction of the Latin letter *j* into the Cyrillic alphabet) and his attempt to separate the language of the Serbian people from the

language of the Serbian Church. In his struggle to gain acceptance for his reforms, Vuk found an invaluable assistant in the young philologist Đuro Daničić.[25] In his *War for the Serbian language and orthography* (*Rat za srpski jezik i pravopis*, 1847), Daničić published a more scientific and thorough justification for these reforms than Vuk had been able to give (Wilson 1970: 307). Vuk had already begun contemplating an expansion of his dictionary to include lexical items from dialects beyond his native Herzegovina, including the literature of Dubrovnik and Dalmatia and data from earlier dictionaries, and Daničić helped him significantly in this task, providing translations for the new entries and ensuring that the accentuation, spelling, and morphology were consistently and correctly represented. The new version of the *Srpski rječnik* appeared in 1852 and was almost double the size of the first edition (Bašić 1991: 68–9). Daničić also published a *Small Serbian grammar* (*Mala srpska gramatika*) in 1850, which represented the definitive codification of Vuk's grammatical norm (Bašić 1991: 69–70).

The 'Vienna Literary Agreement' and the second half of the 19th century

After the failed nationalist revolutions of 1848 and the following repression by the Habsburg government, the members of the Illyrian Movement were disillusioned and defeated. They were beginning to realize that their dream of creating a single literary language for all of the South Slavs could not be realized. Their focus began to shift to the more practical goal of uniting Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia through the use of a štokavian-based norm, which, because of its similarities with varieties in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Montenegro, might still be able to attract the inhabitants of these areas to their cause (Banac 1984a: 231; Herrity 1992: 165). By the end of 1849, Gaj had signed an agreement with the repressive Bach regime to make *Novine* an official government newspaper, and *Danica* ceased publication (Despalatović 1975: 197). This marked the end of the Illyrian Movement.

Vuk did not agree with the Illyrians' goal of creating a single South Slavic literary language or many of their specific linguistic decisions, but as shown by the statement quoted in the preceding section, he did come to accept the idea of a common literary language to unite the Serbs and Croats (Herrity 1992: 165).[26] He was acquainted with various members of the Illyrian Movement and in his correspondence with some of them in the late 1840s he urged them to adopt his spelling principles, to drop the final *-h* in the genitive plural of nouns, and to avoid the mixing of dialects. However, the leading Illyrian linguists

remained resistant. Babukić countered Karadžić's slogan for spelling with his own: 'Speak for the ears, and write for the eyes!' (*Govori za uši, a piši za oči!* Jonke 1971a: 186). Karadžić felt that it was necessary to reach some agreement about these issues, and he found an opportunity to do this in 1849–1850 (Vince 1990 [1978]: 274–5; Herrity 1992: 165).

The government in Vienna convened a committee of authors and other public figures in August 1849 to work on the development of a common juridical and political terminology for the South Slavic peoples in the Empire, which included representatives for both the 'Slovene dialect' and the 'Serbo-Croat dialect'. Vuk was part of the latter group, and in March 1850 he organized a meeting attended by members of the terminological commission as well as a few other interested parties who were in Vienna at the time. The conclusions of this discussion were written up and signed by those in attendance.[27] The text was forwarded to Gaj, who published it in *Narodne novine* on 3 April 1850 (Vince 1990 [1978]: 275–9).

After opening with a statement that '*one* nation must have *one* literature', the document outlines a number of points that the signatories agreed upon, which may be summarized as follows:

1. Rather than mixing dialects to create an artificial language that does not exist among the people, it is better to choose one of the native dialects to serve as the basis for the literary language.
2. The most suitable dialect for this purpose is the 'southern dialect' (that is, the ijekavian štokavian dialect).
3. The Orthodox people should write [Cyrillic] *x* everywhere that it is etymologically justified, since the Catholics write *h* here and many people of both faiths speak this way.
4. The genitive plural ending of nouns should not be written with a final *-h*, since this is not etymologically justified and no one speaks this way.
5. Syllabic *r* should be written simply as *r*, without a preceding *a* or *e*, since this reflects the actual pronunciation.[28]

This document clearly reflects views that had already been expressed earlier by Vuk, and the Croats eventually adopted these ideas as well other aspects of Vuk's norm. However, this agreement did not signify the acceptance of a unified Serbo-Croatian language in the form codified by Vuk, as has often been stated or implied. The signatories of the document were acting as private citizens, without any official status or mandate to represent their people. This text was referred to in the

second half of the 19th century only as a 'proclamation'; the name 'Vienna Literary Agreement' did not come into use until the 20th century, to promote the ideal of linguistic unification (Barić et al. 1995: 31). Gaj's reaction at the time is telling. When he published the text in *Narodne novine*, he did not endorse it, but commented as follows: 'Time will soon show whether this proposal is practical, and whether it will lead in today's situation to the expected agreement and equality, or will it, on the contrary, lead to even greater separateness and literary discord' (translated by Greenberg 2004: 27). The agreement left many questions unresolved, not least of which was the actual name of the proposed common language, which is never mentioned in the text; the document simply refers to 'the literary language' (*književni jezik*). Finally, some of the specific decisions that were outlined in the agreement, not to mention the larger goal of creating a unified language, were promptly ignored on both sides. For example, when the terminological handbook (*Juridisch-politische Terminologie für die slavischen Sprachen Österreichs*) appeared in 1853, Demeter in his foreword outlined his reasons for maintaining the Illyrians' etymological orthography for Croatian, rather than Vuk's phonological model, and also argued against Vuk's ijekavian spelling of oblique plural adjectival endings (for example, DIL. PL *dobrijem* rather than *dobrim*, (Kommission für Slavische Juridisch-Politische Terminologie 1853; see Vince 1990 [1978]: 280–1). And while the Croatian and Serbian columns in the handbook were supposed to differ only in terms of the alphabet used, instead they also retained differences between the Church Slavonic linguistic tradition of the Serbs in southern Hungary and the native Croatian juridical and political terminology (Bašić 1991: 117).

Although Vuk and the followers of the Illyrian Movement had seemingly come to agree on the goal of creating a common literary language for the Serbs and Croats, significant differences remained in their conceptions of this language and its broader implications. Based on the Romantic identification of languages with nations, Vuk believed that all štokavian speakers, regardless of their religious identification, were really Serbs. In his text 'Serbs all and everywhere' (*Srbi svi i svuda*), published in 1849, he stated:

> All reasonable people from both the Greek and Roman Serbs [that is, Serbs and Croats] recognize that they are one nation and are striving to completely eliminate animosity on the basis of religion or at least to reduce it as much as possible, it's only that it's still difficult for those of the Roman rite to call themselves Serbs, but they will

> gradually get used to this; because if they don't want to be Serbs, then they don't have any national name. (Karadžić 1849: 6)

For Vuk, the only real Croats were čakavian speakers; due to the similarity of kajkavian to Slovenian, kajkavian speakers were counted by him as Slovenes. Consequently, Vuk advocated a literary language based purely on štokavian for the nation of štokavian speakers, which in his view were all ethnically Serbs. He fought to eliminate foreign words that were not used by the common people, unless he considered them to be absolutely necessary, in which case they were to be adapted to the Serbian phonological system. Although many Russian and Church Slavic borrowings survived Vuk's attempts to purify the language, his efforts still resulted in a certain impoverishment of the lexicon (Ivić 1984: 324).

On the Croatian side, the approach to the development of a modern standard language was substantially different. Although the majority of linguists and writers accepted the necessity of adopting a štokavian-based norm, language reformers also wanted to include elements that would make the new norm more acceptable to kajkavian and čakavian speakers. Because of the linguistic situation in the Croatian lands, there had always been a certain amount of mixing of different dialects in the literary language, and this previous literary tradition was considered to be a valuable model for the creation of a modern standard language. The usage of contemporary speakers of any one dialect was therefore not viewed as decisive for the codification of the language's norms. This opinion was expressed, for example, by Adolfo Veber Tkalčević in his polemic with Mirko Divković in 1879: 'Our literary language has not accepted the principle that only what can be found in Vuk's work is good for Croatian, we have accepted into it some kajkavian and čakavian elements, especially words, although the core of the language for us is štokavian' (cited by Vince 1990 [1978]: 593). Vuk's conception of the standard language was contradictory to Croatian traditions, and some feared that the adoption of a linguistic norm that Vuk defined as being essentially Serbian would undermine Croatian efforts to induce the Austrian Empire to recognize their nationhood (Banac 1984a: 233). While the Croats may have been prepared to make concessions for the sake of a broader Illyrian language in the name of South Slav unity, they were not prepared to sacrifice their growing sense of Croatian national identity just to promote linguistic unity between the Croats and Serbs (Herrity 1992: 169).

The second half of the 19th century in Croatia was characterized by sharp debates among proponents of conflicting approaches to the

codification of the standard language, who are traditionally classified as belonging to several different 'schools' of philological thought. The Zadar School was in some ways closest to the ideas of Vuk, since its members promoted the ikavian štokavian dialect, the variety used by the majority of Croatian štokavian speakers, as the basis for the Croatian standard language. The leading figure of this group was Ante Kuzmanić (1807–1879), who founded the literary journal *Zora dalmatinska* (*Dalmatian Dawn*) in 1844. Ignjat Alojzije Brlić (1795–1855) and Šime Starčević (1784–1859), who had both published grammars in the first half of the century, were also active in this movement. The Zadar School was resistant to Gaj's orthographical reform, although Kuzmanić eventually accepted it. In addition to emphasizing the rich tradition of earlier ikavian štokavian literature, the Zadar School also worked on the codification of legal terminology and promoted a new complete translation of the Bible into ikavian štokavian, published by Ivan Matija Škarić in 1858–1861 (see Banac 1984a: 224–5; Moguš 1995: 181–4).

The main figure of the Rijeka School was Fran Kurelac (1811–1874), who believed that it was necessary to look to the past and to eliminate dialectal variations in order to promote Slavic linguistic unity. He advocated an archaic norm, including the use of dual forms for nouns and verbs, null endings in the genitive plural of nouns (for example, G.PL *jelen*, *žen*, *sel* as opposed to the forms recommended by the Illyrians, *jelenah*, *ženah*, *selah*, or Vuk's *jelena*, *žena, sela*), and first person singular present tense forms in *-u* (for example, *pletu* 'I knit', *mišlju* 'I think' instead of forms of the type *pletem, mislim*, which are common to čakavian, kajkavian, and štokavian dialects). He insisted on a strict morphophonological system of spelling, similar to what is used in other Slavic languages, and tried to reintroduce many individual lexical items that had long ago fallen out of use in Croatian (see Banac 1984a: 225–7; Moguš 1995: 184–7). Kurelac's model was too different from contemporary vernacular varieties to have any chance of gaining broad acceptance, and his endeavors attracted little support.

The Zagreb School represented a continuation of the main ideas of the Illyrian Movement. Generally speaking, its members advocated the use of distinct oblique plural forms for nouns, as found in older Croatian literature and in čakavian and kajkavian dialects, as well as the incorporation of some čakavian and kajkavian lexical items in order to help bring speakers of these dialects into the štokavian fold. They largely followed Gaj's revised orthography, for example in their spelling *er* for syllabic /r/ and their use of the character *ě*, but they moved further toward the prescription of the ijekavian pronunciation for the

latter, and consequently some members of this group began to advocate replacing *ě* with the spellings *ie* when long and *je* when short. They also retained the 'etymological' principle of spelling (see Moguš 1995: 187ff.). Members of the Zagreb School published a number of important grammatical works. Babukić's *Illyrian grammar* (*Ilirska slovnica*, 1854) and Veber Tkalčević's *Syntax of the Illyrian language* (*Skladnja ilirskoga jezika*, 1859) contain the first systematic treatments of Croatian syntax. The grammars by Antun Mažuranić – *Croatian grammar for gymnasiums and secondary schools* (*Slovnica Hèrvatska. Za gimnazije i realne škole*, 1859; subsequent editions 1861, 1866, 1869) – and Veber Tkalčević (various titles, appearing in multiple editions from 1862–1879; see Pranjković 1993a for a complete list) were particularly influential since they were widely used in schools over a significant period of time.

In the area of lexicography, the Zagreb School is represented primarily by the works of Bogoslav (Bohuslav) Šulek, who published a two-volume *German-Croatian dictionary* (*Němačko-hrvatski rěčnik*) in 1860, and a dictionary of Croatian scientific terminology in 1874–1875 (*Hrvatsko-njemačko-talijanski rječnik znanstvenoga nazivlja, I-II*). Šulek was a strong proponent of linguistic purism and did much to promote the development of native Croatian terminology. He would freely borrow words from other Croatian dialects to replace foreign loanwords whenever possible. If no suitable Croatian replacement could be found, he would often adapt a Slovak, Czech, Slovenian, or Russian term, or create a neologism (Pranjković 2010a: 56).

After the death of Vuk in 1864, his follower Đuro Daničić remained as the leading proponent of his model for the standard language. In 1866, Daničić was elected secretary of the newly founded Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, or JAZU), based in Zagreb. He became the center of a group of young Croatian linguists who are often referred to as the Croatian Vukovites (*vukovci*), and who eventually prevailed in the struggle over the direction of the standard language. The Vukovites became increasingly influential due to a combination of factors. The importance of the Zagreb School was beginning to decline, and the views of some of its adherents (particularly the younger ones) were already moving closer to those of Vuk. Vatroslav Jagić, who was one of the most influential linguists of his time and originally a follower of the Zagreb School, published an article entitled 'Our orthography' ('Naš pravopis') in the journal *Književnik* (*The Writer*) in 1864, in which he argued for the adoption of some of Karadžić's principles: the replacement of the digraph *tj* with *ć*, the replacement of *ě* by *ie* or *je*, spelling syllabic *r* without an accompanying

vowel, and spelling the genitive plural form as *-a* instead of *-ah* (as cited by Moguš 1995: 193). Veber Tkalčević (1864), in his response to this article, agreed with Jagić on the spelling of syllabic *r*, but still argued against the other points. Veber Tkalčević later went slightly further by abandoning *ě* in the recommendations of an official orthographic committee that he headed in 1877. The committee's proposal, which generally followed the principles of the Zagreb School, was blocked by highly placed followers of Daničić from being implemented in the schools. Soon afterwards, a grammar by Mirko Divković, who had also moved away from the Zagreb School toward the camp of the Vukovites, replaced Veber's as the standard handbook in the schools (Banac 1984a: 236; Pranjković 2010a: 57).

The political situation in the latter part of the century also favored the Vukovites. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867 restored Hungarian sovereignty and reorganized the Habsburg Empire as a union between Austria and Hungary. Croatia and Slavonia were once again placed under direct Hungarian rule, and their historical rights were further reduced, with the Hungarian government gaining the power to directly appoint the Croatian *ban*, or governor. In 1883, Károly Khuen-Héderváry was appointed to this position, with a mandate to repress any expressions of Croatian nationalism or attempts by the Croats to assert their own autonomy. He promoted the national and cultural unification of the Croats with the Serbs of the Krajina region, which had now been incorporated into Croatia-Slavonia, and he established a pro-Hungarian Unionist political party. Several of the leading Croatian Vukovites were members of this party or closely associated with it (Banac 1984a: 236–8).

The publication of several influential linguistic works cemented the Vukovian model for the standard language by the turn of the century. Ivan Broz published a new orthographic manual, *Hrvatski pravopis* (1892), in which the conventions for spelling palatal consonants and the reflexes of CS **ě* were regularized, giving the Croatian alphabet the modern form that it has today. He provided clear and consistent rules for spelling, which mainly followed the principles of Vuk and Daničić, with certain exceptions (see Broz 1892: v). Armin Pavić, a Vukovite who was Khuen-Héderváry's chief of public instruction, made Broz's pravopis (orthographic handbook) the obligatory manual for the schools. This handbook was republished in numerous editions after Broz's death, first under the names of both Broz and Dragutin Boranić, later under Boranić's name alone. It remained in effect in Croatia practically the entire time from its initial publication up until the Novi Sad pravopis of 1960 (see

Jonke 1971a: 196; Pranjković 2010a: 58). Broz's pravopis was followed by Tomislav (Tomo) Maretić's *Grammar and stylistics of the Croatian or Serbian literary language* (*Gramatika i stilistika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga književnog jezika*, 1899b), along with a shorter version intended for the lower grades of secondary schools (Maretić 1899a). These books also appeared in multiple editions under varying titles up into the 1960s. Although Maretić's grammar was very well conceived in other respects, it was characterized by a rigid štokavian purism, relying exclusively on the works of Vuk and Daničić or štokavian folk literature for its examples. In compiling his grammar, Maretić ignored not only the previous tradition of Croatian literary and linguistic works, but also the contemporary Croatian literature of his time (Pranjković 2010a: 57–8). As Antun Radić stated in a review in *Vijenac* (1899): 'The Croatian literary language can be nothing other than the language of Croatian literature, so I do not understand how someone who ignores this literature and the language in which it is written can write a grammar of the Croatian literary language' (cited by Jonke 1971a: 198). The same criticisms were applied to Ivan Broz and Franjo Iveković's *Dictionary of the Croatian language* (*Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika*, 1901), the first complete monolingual dictionary of the language (Pranjković 2010a: 58–9). We must also mention here the multi-volume *Dictionary of the Croatian or Serbian language* (*Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*) started by JAZU under the leadership of Daničić in 1880 and completed only in 1976. This work was also criticized for ignoring much of the Croatian lexicographic and literary tradition (see Pranjković 2010a: 59).

The essential orthographical and grammatical norms of the Croatian standard language were thus codified in accordance with Vuk's principles by the end of the 19th century. Major changes from the earlier Illyrian practices included: the implementation of phonological rather than morphophonemic spelling principles in most instances (for example, masculine *gladak*, neuter *glatko* 'smooth'; but also *grad, gradski* [gratski] 'city'); spelling the reflex of **ě* as *ije* when long and *je* when short, instead of the previous *ie/je* or *ě*; and the adoption of syncretic dative/instrumental/locative plural forms in *-ima, -ama* for nouns (Jonke 1971a: 197). However, Croatian still retained some elements of the literary language of the Illyrians and its earlier written tradition, mainly in terms of lexicon, syntax, and style. It is also important to note that while the Croats adopted the neoštokavian ijekavian dialectal basis for the standard language that had been recommended by Vuk, in Serbia this aspect of his reforms was rejected in favor of the ekavian Vojvodina-Šumadija dialect, spoken in Belgrade and Novi Sad, because of the

importance of these centers in the national and cultural life of the Serbs. As mentioned previously, Vuk's reforms for the Serbian literary language were initially met with resistance, particularly from the Serbs of Vojvodina. His orthography did not gain broad acceptance until the 1860s, when it was adopted by the Society of Serbian Literacy (*Društvo srpske slovesnosti*, 1841–1864), which became the Serbian Learned Society (*Srpsko učeno društvo*, 1864–1886; see Greenberg 2004: 28). Governmental bans against the printing of works in his orthography were gradually relaxed beginning in 1859, and were lifted completely in 1868 (Wilson 1970: 343). The choice of ekavian in Serbia had an additional political implication since it could facilitate the incorporation of Macedonia, which became a goal of the Serbian government after 1878 (Banac 1984a: 240). However, the Serbs in Bosnia and the Krajina, as well as the Montenegrins, maintained their native ijekavian usage.

The 20th century

The Croatian desire to leave the Austro-Hungarian Empire became even stronger at the beginning of the 20th century, and the formation of a Yugoslav nation together with the Slovenes and Serbs came to be seen by many as the only practical course of action (see, for example, Marjanović's 1913 book *A nation that is arising: Why a unified Serbo-Croatian nation is emerging and how it is being formed*.). Earlier fears about the Vukovites' Serbianization of the Croatian language abated in this political climate, and a new impetus for the unification of the Croatian and Serbian languages was manifested on both sides. In 1913, Jovan Skerlić, a Serbian literary historian and critic, gave a lecture titled 'The eastern or the southern dialect?' at the Society for the Serbian Language and Literature (Društvo za srpski jezik i književnost) in Belgrade, which was published that same year in the *Serbian literary herald* (*Srpski književni glasnik*), of which he was the editor. Skerlić proposed that 'Serbo-Croatian literature', which he saw as the common literature of a single nation, should be written in the ekavian dialect. As a concession to the Croats, he proposed that the Serbs should abandon Cyrillic in favor of the Latin alphabet (Jonke 1971a: 201). Skerlić circulated a questionnaire among Serbian and Croatian writers and other public figures to survey their opinions, which proved to be divided. Although a number of young Croatian authors began writing in ekavian, and continued to do so into the 1920s, several leading linguists of the time expressed serious reservations about the proposed compromise (Jonke 1971a: 201–5). At about the same time in Slovenia, a similar questionnaire

was circulated concerning the Yugoslav question and the relationship of Slovenian to Serbo-Croatian. A large number of the respondents felt that the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes represented a single nation, and that the Slovenes should sacrifice their own language for the sake of unity (Jonke 1971a: 203).

After World War I, political unification was achieved with the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, a constitutional parliamentary monarchy under the rule of the Serbian royal dynasty. Macedonia was incorporated into the new state, with its people referred to as 'Southern Serbs', even though their language is more similar to Bulgarian than Serbian. The official language of the kingdom was declared to be Serbo-Croato-Slovenian (*srpskohrvatskoslovenački*) in Article 3 of the Constitution of 1921 (Ustavotvorna skupština Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca 1921), but Slovenian was included in name only, since it was too different from Serbian and Croatian to be considered part of the same language. In practice, even this nominal inclusion of Slovenian was also usually ignored. State policies promoted the further unification of the Croatian and Serbian languages. In 1923, the prominent Serbian linguist Aleksandar Belić published an *Orthography of the Serbo-Croatian literary language* (*Pravopis srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika*), which was intended to promote the unification of spelling practices by prescribing a consistently phonological principle of spelling, going further in this respect than Vuk had. As part of attempts to reduce the numerous lexical differences between Croatian and Serbian, linguists branded many Croatian words as dialectal or 'provincial' and attempted to exclude them from the standard language. For example, in the preface to Maretić's *Croatian or Serbian language handbook* (*Hrvatski ili srpski jezični savjetnik*, 1924) he describes these lexical differences as one of the major 'afflictions of our contemporary literary language' (Maretić 1924: vi). He states that there is no need for Croatian coinages such as *glazba* 'music', *knjižnica* 'library', *povijest* 'history', *slovnica* 'grammar', *tvornica* 'factory' when it is possible to use words that are employed in the rest of Europe: *muzika, biblioteka, (h)istorija, gramatika, fabrika* (1924: xiv). Maretić recommends that kajkavian forms used in the Croatian literary language be replaced by štokavian ones, arguing that the retention of such words would hinder the linguistic unity of the Croats and Serbs. According to him, the Serbs would be no more willing to accept these words than Croats would be to accept provincialisms from southern Serbian dialects (1924: xxii–xxiii).

Despite earlier enthusiasm for the Yugoslav cause, the separate Croatian and Serbian national identities that had begun to form in the

19th century could not be easily subsumed into a new Serbo-Croatian or Yugoslavian whole, and the Croats quickly became dissatisfied with their position in the new state. They were upset by the 1921 constitution, which eliminated the Croatian ban, the Sabor, and other Croatian governmental institutions, and divided Croatia (as well as the rest of the kingdom) into departments. Electoral districts were gerrymandered to overrepresent the Serbs, and all political power was consolidated in Belgrade (Tanner 1997: 121). This created a heightened sense of Croatian national awareness, which through the influence of the popular and influential agrarian party led by Stjepan Radić now spread beyond the intellectual elite and bourgeoisie to the lower classes (Banac 1984a: 241). After Radić was shot and mortally wounded in the parliament in Belgrade in June 1928, the country was in danger of descending into civil war, and King Aleksandar declared a royal dictatorship in January 1929. The country was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and political repression of the Croatian opposition increased (Tanner 1997: 123–4).

Under the royal dictatorship, pressure to unify the language remained intense. Since Belić's earlier orthographic innovations had been rejected in Croatia, and to some extent in Serbia as well, the Yugoslav Ministry of Education created a commission in 1928 to establish a uniform orthography. The commission, which was led by Maretić and had Belić as one of its members, recommended the adoption of Belić's orthographical rules. In 1929, the new orthography was prescribed for use in all schools of the kingdom (Banac 1984a: 243; Moguš 1995: 212). However, after the assassination of King Aleksandar in 1934, his more democratically inclined cousin Prince Paul assumed power as regent on behalf of the 11-year-old King Petar, and in the following years an opportunity for political reconciliation between the Croats and Serbs emerged. In 1939, an autonomous Banovina of Croatia was created, encompassing most of the historical Croatian territory, including Dubrovnik, the Bay of Kotor, and parts of Bosnia and Srijem (Tanner 1997: 127–33). The unified Serbo-Croatian orthography of 1929, which had been strongly resisted in Croatia, was replaced by the previous Broz-Boranić norm. Beyond orthographic disagreements, other differences between Croatian and Serbian also began to be more broadly recognized as reflecting two distinct norms. The Serbian linguist Radoslav Bošković published an article in 1935 titled 'On the lexical and stylistic differentiation of the Serbian and Croatian literary language', in which he describes the contemporary literary language as existing in two variants, one centered in Belgrade and the other in Zagreb. He presents this differentiation as

an established fact, which he describes as 'a completely natural expression of the different direction of development of Vuk's language on the Serbian and Croatian side' (Bošković 1935: 277). At the same time, he still views the calques and neologisms in the Croatian lexical stock as a 'linguistic problem', and describes the Croatian literary language as being artificial in nature, as opposed to the Serbian language, which has preserved its 'natural' form (281–2). In Croatia, resistance to the unifying linguistic policies of the national government became more open. In 1937, the Croatian Language Society (Društvo 'Hrvatski jezik') was founded in Zagreb and began publishing a journal *Hrvatski jezik*, edited by the leading Croatian linguist of the time, Stjepan Ivšić. In 1938 the Movement for the Croatian Literary Language (Pokret za hrvatski književni jezik) was started under the leadership of Blaž Jurišić, with the goal of ridding Croatian of the Serbian influences that had been imposed since the founding of the Kingdom and returning the language to its roots. Finally, in 1940, Petar Guberina and Kruno Krstić published a controversial book titled *Differences between the Croatian and Serbian literary languages* (*Razlike između hrvatskoga i srpskoga književnog jezika*), which described variants on all linguistic levels and included a dictionary contrasting forms they considered typical of Serbian as opposed to Croatian usage (see Chapter 8 for further discussion). Guberina and Krstić argued that the Croats and Serbs represent two distinct nations with two different literary languages (see also Samardžija 1993a: 10).

In April 1941, Germany declared war on Yugoslavia. Members of an extreme right-wing nationalist liberation movement that had been formed in Croatia after the declaration of the royal dictatorship in 1929, the Ustaše (Insurgents), took power with the support of Italy and Germany and established a Nazi puppet regime known as the Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, or NDH). The NDH's fascist political program, which included the elimination of Serbs, Jews, Roma, and other 'undesirable' elements within the expanded borders of the Croatian state, also placed an emphasis on language policy, as can be seen in the fact that the NDH established a Croatian State Office for Language (Hrvatski državni ured za jezik, or HDUJ) on 28 April 1941, just 18 days after the Ustaše took power. The HDUJ was given complete control over public usage of the Croatian language and was assigned several specific tasks: the creation of textbooks, handbooks, and dictionaries; providing linguistic advice to the government in the creation of legislation and regulations; and 'linguistic propaganda' (*jezična promičba*) (Samardžija 1993a: 16–17). This propaganda consisted primarily of radio broadcasts and newspaper

articles providing guidance on proper Croatian usage (see Samardžija 1993a: 17–23), but statements by individual linguists were also used to promote the work of the HDUJ. In June 1941, Kruno Krstić published an article in the newspaper *Hrvatski narod* in which he stated that '[s]ome uninformed people think that the Croatian State Office for Language is going to throw out our current language and install another one that is completely different'. In order to disabuse them of this notion, he outlined the main principles of the Movement for the Croatian Literary Language, which had been founded before the NDH, in order to show that the members of this group had previously called for the establishment of just such a 'linguistic legislative body'. According to Krstić, their intention was only to reassert the separate identity of the Croatian language and to return it to its original state by eliminating innovations that had been introduced under the influence of Vuk and Daničić and by relying instead on the tradition of Croatian literature as the basis for the modern standard language.[29]

One of the most significant documents outlining the language policies of the NDH is the 'Legal regulation on the Croatian language, its purity, and orthography' (Zakonska odredba o hrvatskom jeziku, o njegovoj čistoći i o pravopisu), issued on 14 August 1941. Article 1 of this law stated:

> On the basis of its origin, its historical development, its geographical extent across the Croatian national territory, its pronunciation, its grammatical rules, and the meaning of individual words, the language spoken by Croats is the original and distinctive language of the Croatian people. It is not identical with any other language, it is not a dialect of any other language, nor is it a common language shared with any other nation. For this reason it is called the 'Croatian language'. (published in Klaić 1942: 16–17)

This law defined the official language as the 'jekavian or iekavian štokavian dialect' (Article 4), with the reflex of **ě* to be written as *ie* when long, *je* when short. The language was also supposed to be written according to the so-called 'korienski' ('root', that is, etymologically based) orthography, rather than the phonological orthography (Article 7, Klaić 1942: 18). In effect, the law was reasserting the orthographic principles of the Zagreb School from the second half of the 19th century, in place of the Vukovian principles that had been in force since 1892. The first summary of the new spelling rules, together with an orthographical dictionary, was published by the HDUJ in August 1942, edited by Adolf

Bratoljub Klaić. According to the official statute for implementation, a four-month period was allowed for people to become accustomed to the new spelling, and from 1 January 1943 the use of any other orthography was banned (Samardžija 1993a: 37).[30]

The 'Legal regulation on the Croatian language, its purity, and orthography' also included a statement about the purity of the language in Article 2:

> The Croatian language is a public good of the Croatian people, and no one is allowed to distort or disfigure it. It is therefore forbidden in speech and in writing to use words that do not correspond to the spirit of the Croatian language, as a rule foreign words borrowed from different as well as from similar languages. As an exception, one may use words that have already acquired a special meaning and that would be difficult or impossible to replace with native words. (Klaić 1942: 17)

The NDH promoted a thorough purification of the Croatian language, which was focused not just on the elimination of foreign words in general, but more specifically on cleansing the language of what were seen as Serbian elements (see the reference to 'similar languages' above). Native Croatian terminology was introduced in the governmental administration, the legal system, and the military, and attempts were also made to replace everyday words belonging to the general lexicon. Most of the substitutions involved older Croatian words that can be found in dictionaries from the 19th century, but calques and other neologisms were also proposed in this period. The authorities attempted to involve the broader population in this movement of purification. For example, Samardžija (1993a: 57–8) cites an invitation issued to the readers of the newspaper *New Croatia* (*Nova Hrvatska*) to propose a Croatian replacement for the word *marka* 'stamp', which received 188 responses. However, despite a certain amount of public interest in language purism, the majority of the innovations of the NDH period did not gain broad acceptance among the general population and did not survive after the end of the war.[31]

During World War II, Tito and other leaders of the partisan resistance movement formed an umbrella political organization, the Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (Antifašističko Vijeće Narodnog Oslobođenja Jugoslavije, or AVNOJ). The resolutions of the second AVNOJ conference included a call for the creation of a federal Yugoslavia with six constituent republics (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia,

Macedonia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina), in which each of these nations would have equal rights. In a decision from January 1944, AVNOJ declared that all its future decisions and proclamations must be published in four languages: Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian. In December 1944, Tito issued a decree establishing the *Official gazette* (*Službeni list*) of Yugoslavia, which included a provision that it must be printed in all four languages, and the constitution of 1946 was also published in all four languages (Banac 1984a: 246–7; Moguš 1995: 216). In the light of such actions, the Croats expected that their linguistic rights would be guaranteed within the new Yugoslav state.

Boranić's pravopis was reinstituted in Croatia after the war. In 1952, the Croatian Philological Society (Hrvatsko filološko društvo) founded the journal *Jezik: Časopis za kulturu hrvatskoga književnog jezika* (*Language: A journal for the culture of the Croatian literary language*) and announced plans for the publication of new normative handbooks. However, the federalist principles upon which the second Yugoslavia was founded were in conflict with the centralism of the Communist Party, and nationalist aspirations within the individual republics were seen as a threat to the state. Tito was determined to forge a common Yugoslav national identity to help hold the country together, but also had to avoid alienating the political leadership and population of the individual republics. As a result, the history of socialist Yugoslavia was marked by successive waves of decentralization and centralization, which also affected the language (Banac 1984a: 246–7).

Previous attempts to unify Serbian and Croatian orthographical practices, led by Belić, were revived in the early 1950s. The Serbian cultural organization Matica srpska conducted a 'Survey on questions about the Serbo-Croatian language and orthography' in 1953, then organized a meeting of specialists in Novi Sad in December 1954 to discuss the results of the survey. The participants reached a number of conclusions, which were summarized in a document known as the Novi Sad Agreement. In the political circumstances of the time, it can only be assumed that this meeting and the resulting agreement met with the approval of Tito and the Communist Party (see Banac 1984a: 247; Moguš 1995: 218). The text of the agreement begins by affirming that the vernacular spoken by Serbs, Croats, and Montenegrins represents one language, and that consequently the written varieties used by these peoples are also a single language, even though they had developed differently in the centers of Belgrade and Zagreb. The agreement affirms the legitimacy and equality of the two 'pronunciations'

of this language, ijekavian and ekavian, as well as of the two different alphabets in use, Latin and Cyrillic. The Novi Sad Agreement does not prescribe any specific name (such as Serbo-Croatian, Croato-Serbian, Croatian or Serbian, all of which were current at the time), but it does require that in official usage any reference to the name of the language must include both constituent parts; in other words, one could not officially refer to the language simply as Croatian, for example. Finally, the document outlines a number of concrete steps to be taken, including the creation of a common orthographic manual, publication of a reference dictionary of the contemporary Serbo-Croatian literary language, and the development of a common system of terminology for all fields. The major universities, the two academies in Zagreb and Belgrade, and the Matica hrvatska and Matica srpska were to work together on these tasks.[32]

Many linguists and writers on the Croatian side believed that the explicit recognition of two variants of the common literary language would guarantee a degree of autonomy for Croatian linguistic expression, and that the joint dictionary would take Croatian lexical norms into account, since Point 5 of the Novi Sad Agreement makes reference to 'the entire lexical wealth of our language'. Work on the joint projects proceeded in relative harmony, and the Novi Sad orthographic manual appeared in parallel Latin and Cyrillic versions in 1960 (*Pravopis hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika*, Zagreb/*Правопис српскохрватскога књижевног језика*, Novi Sad). However, the publication of the first two volumes of the joint dictionary in 1967 (*Rječnik hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika*/*Речник спрскохрватскога књижевног језика*, Vol. I A-F, Vol. II G-K) provoked an outcry in Croatia. One of the most outspoken critics was Tomislav Ladan, who described it as a 'Centaurian dictionary of a Centaurian language' (*Kritika* 1968, 1, reprinted in Ladan 1970: 201–18). In Ladan's view, not only did the dictionary neglect important parts of the Croatian literary tradition and its lexical stock, but it presented a false picture of the language by mixing the lexicon of the ekavian and ijekavian variants, creating an artificial unity where none existed. Croats had long been concerned about the infiltration of Serbian words into Croatian usage, which could be seen partly as a natural consequence of the political and demographic dominance of the Serbs in the SFRY, but was also caused by policies aimed at creating a unified language. The dictionary was perceived as a further step in this direction, and one that was unacceptable to many. Croatian intellectuals openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the linguistic situation in the 'Declaration on the name and status of the Croatian

literary language', a protest that was signed by the majority of Croatian cultural and scientific institutions and published in the Zagreb newspaper *Telegram* on 17 March 1967 (see Banac 1984a: 248–9; Moguš 1995: 219–20).

The Declaration referred to the national sovereignty and equality of the six Yugoslav republics as a founding principle of the Yugoslavian state, and asserted the inalienable right of every nation to call its language by its own name. According to the interpretation of the writers of the Declaration, the Novi Sad Agreement recognized 'the right of each nation to its own linguistic medium of national and cultural life' (Matica hrvatska 1991 [1967]: 7). However, in their view this fundamental right had been violated in practice by the imposition of Serbian linguistic norms:

> It is well known under which conditions in our country the tendencies of statism, unitarism, and hegemony were resurrected. In connection with these there also appeared the concept of the need for a single 'state language', in which process this role in practice was assigned to the Serbian literary language because of the dominant influence of the administrative center of our state. Despite the 8th Congress and the 4th and 5th Plenums of the CK SKJ [Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party], which in our time specifically emphasized the importance of socialist principles concerning the equality of our nations and, consequently, also their languages, the imposition of a 'state language' is still being carried out in fact today through the administrative apparatus and means of public and mass communication (party newspapers, Tanjug, JRTV [Yugoslav Radio and Television] in state broadcasts, the PTT [Postal, Telephone and Telegraph service], railways, so-called materials of economic and political literature, film journals, various administrative forms), and through linguistic practices in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], in state administration, legislation, diplomacy, and political organizations, so that the Croatian language is being repressed and put into the unequal position of a local dialect. (Matica hrvatska 1991 [1967]: 8)

The Declaration sums up the linguistic grievances of the Croats, and calls upon the government to take two specific actions: to clearly establish the equality of the Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, and Macedonian languages in the constitution of Yugoslavia, and to ensure the consistent use of the Croatian literary language in all spheres of public life within the Republic of Croatia.

The Declaration appeared in the context of a broader reform movement within the Croatian League of Communists, which had the goal of creating more national autonomy for Croatia within the federal framework of Yugoslavia. Other important centers of this movement, known as the Mass Movement (Masovni pokret, abbreviated MASPOK) or the Croatian Spring, were the Matica hrvatska and the University of Zagreb, whose students became the most radical in their demands for reforms (Tanner 1997: 194).[33] Although at the party level the movement was focused on political and economic reforms, the reassertion of Croatian linguistic and cultural identity became an important component of MASPOK. The political movement reached its peak in 1971, and in the same year the Matica hrvatska stopped work on the joint dictionary and, together with other cultural institutions, renounced the Novi Sad Agreement. The Matica hrvatska organized the production of a new orthographic manual to replace the Novi Sad pravopis, written by Stjepan Babić, Božidar Finka, and Milan Moguš and titled *Hrvatski pravopis* (*Croatian orthography*, 1971). Distribution of this book was blocked by the central government and almost all of the copies were destroyed, but at least one was smuggled out to London, where a photographic reproduction was published. The 1971 pravopis is consequently often referred to as the *Londonac* (*Londoner*) in Croatia (Greenberg 2004: 118). Tito finally moved to bring a definitive end to the Croatian Spring movement in December 1971, and the following purges and political repression were severe. The University of Zagreb was occupied by the police and students were arrested, the Matica hrvatska was closed and some of its leaders imprisoned, editors in the media were fired and some newspapers were shut down entirely. Reformers in the Croatian Communist Party, in local government, and in the judicial system were purged (Tanner 1997: 201–2).

The events of the late 1960s and early 1970s sowed the seeds of future discord within the SFRY. But as was typical of Tito's governing style, this wave of repression was followed by a relaxation of central control. In 1974, new constitutions were enacted at both the federal and republic levels, which granted greater power to the individual republics. The 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Article 138, declared the official language to be 'the Croatian literary language, the standardized form of the popular language, which is called Croatian or Serbian' (Socijalistička Republika Hrvatska 1974). Subsequently a number of important linguistic works were produced in Croatia which referred to the language explicitly as 'the Croatian literary language' rather than 'Croato-Serbian' or 'Croatian or Serbian', and which emphasized

specifically Croatian norms of usage. However, this does not mean that a separate Croatian linguistic identity could be freely expressed; Party officials still condemned or prohibited works that were deemed to be too nationalistic in their orientation. For example, in 1975, the Institute for Language (Zavod za jezik, now named the Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje) began work on a reference grammar intended for use in schools (*Priručna gramatika hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, Barić et al. 1979). After a second round of reviews it was given preliminary approval in early 1978 only on the condition that two chapters be omitted ('The origin of the Croatian literary language' and 'The formation of the Croatian literary language'). The authors complied, and the manuscript was sent to press. However, when the book was published in 1979 and submitted for final approval, the Secretary for Education, Culture, and Physical Culture Stipe Šuvar rejected it, despite the positive recommendation of the Commission for Textbooks. In his justification for this decision, Šuvar cited the fact that the name 'Croatian or Serbian language' did not appear in the title or elsewhere in the text, despite the fact that this was part of the constitutional definition of the official language of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. Given the 'sensitivity of linguistic problems', he deemed it unacceptable to omit any reference to the fact that the Croatian literary language is the same language used by Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins, and Muslims, particularly in a grammar intended for the education of future generations (Babić 1990b: 43–50).

Conclusion

The preceding survey is far from exhaustive, and ignores many details and nuances in the complex history of language standardization in Croatia and Serbia. However, it should be clear that while the Croatian and Serbian languages converged during the process of standardization, both sides approached this task from fundamentally different starting points, so the results were necessarily different. From the beginning, the Croatian approach to the development of a modern standard language was based on a long history of literary and linguistic works, and took into account the interrelationships among different dialect groups that were part of the Croatian linguistic landscape. On the Serbian side, Vuk's reform of the written language was focused more on the Romantic ideal of the language of the common people as the true expression of the spirit of the nation. Due to the specifics of Serbian history, the written tradition prior to the 19th century was too different from the vernacular to provide a practical basis for standardization.

The convergence of the Croatian and Serbian standard varieties was due to a combination of factors. To some extent this was the result of historical processes that were beyond the control of language planners in the 19th century, but it also clearly reflected conscious choices to create a standardized variety that could transcend the political boundaries of the time, which divided groups of people that language planners viewed as constituting a single nation. As with the emerging standard varieties themselves, there were also fundamentally different conceptions of this national identity, which evolved over time.

In the 20th century within the context of a unified Yugoslav state, in both its incarnations before and after World War II, there was increased political pressure behind the idea of a unified Serbo-Croatian language for the Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, and Montenegrins. It is an indisputable fact that many people, particularly in the second Yugoslavia, considered themselves to belong to a single linguistic community with a single common language. Many people also felt a sense of Yugoslav national identity, although this did not necessarily replace their more specific self-identification as Serbs, Croats, and so forth. This can be seen to some extent in census data, where a small percentage of the population self-identified as Yugoslav (5.4% in the 1981 census; Bugarski 1992: 14). From this perspective, it is legitimate to speak of the existence of a standard Serbo-Croatian language. At the same time, however, differences persisted in the standard varieties used in Croatia and Serbia (as well as in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro, although these are not the focus of our attention), and Croats in particular often felt that their linguistic individuality was being threatened. There was consistent resistance in Croatia to attempts to reduce the differences between Croatian and Serbian, and speakers maintained a distinct sense of Croatian linguistic identity. Consequently, one would also be justified in saying that the standard variety used in Croatia from the late 19th century on represents a distinct Croatian standard language. Given the history of disputes over the status and norms of the standard language, and the fact that orthography was a particular focus of attention in attempts to unify Croatian and Serbian usage, it is clear why these linguistic questions have continued to be a source of controversy in the period after 1990.

Part II
Croatian Language Policy and Planning in the 1990s and Beyond

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5
Language Rights and the Treatment of Croatian on the International Level

Introduction: language rights and the status of Croatian

The idealized Romantic concepts of the nation and the role of national languages are closely tied to the idea of national rights (Pupavac 2012: 62). If we return to the quotation from Fichte mentioned in Chapter 2 (from his *Addresses to the German Nation*, delivered in Berlin in 1807–1808 while it was occupied by Napoleon's troops), he explicitly connects language and national identity with political rights in the next clause: 'it is true beyond doubt that, wherever a separate language is found, there a separate nation exists, which has *the right to take independent charge of its affairs and to govern itself*' (Fichte 1922: 215; emphasis added). The understanding of language as fundamental to cultural and national identity necessarily implies the right of a language community to use its language freely, and to define the language on its own terms. Croatian linguists have frequently made such claims in their arguments defending the idea of a separate Croatian linguistic identity. For example, the Matica hrvatska issued a 'Memorandum on the Croatian language' which demanded that all international political, scholarly, and cultural institutions respect 'the inalienable right of the Croatian people and the Croatian state to their own language and its proper name, that is: to the independent Croatian language' (Matica hrvatska 1996: 166; see also Matica hrvatska 1991 [1967]: 7; HAZU 1996: 164, 2005: 42, 46, 2007b). Claims such as these are consistent with a growing international recognition of language rights, which have generally followed the evolution of human rights thinking from the early 20th century to the present (Hogan-Brun and Wolff 2003: 3–7; Pupavac 2012: 26ff.).

One of the foundational international documents in the area of language rights is the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

Article 2 of this document states that the rights and freedoms of the Declaration apply to all people regardless of any distinctions, including language. Article 26, which declares that parents have the right to choose 'the kind of education that shall be given to their children', and Article 27, which asserts the right of individuals 'to freely participate in the cultural life of the community', can also be interpreted as implying certain language rights. Other UN and UNESCO documents contain explicit provisions guarding not just against discrimination, but calling for the protection of linguistic and cultural identities (Pupavac 2012: 29). One of the most expansive assertions of individual and group language rights can be found in the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, which was approved at the 1996 World Conference of Linguistic Rights and submitted to UNESCO. This document declares the right of individuals to use their own language both in private and public to be an inalienable personal right 'which may be exercised in any situation' (Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights 1996, Article 3.1). It recognizes the rights of groups to the teaching of their language and culture, access to cultural services, the 'equitable presence of their language and culture in the communications media', and 'the right to receive attention in their own language from government bodies and in socioeconomic relations' (Article 3.2). Furthermore, the declaration states that all language communities should 'have at their disposal whatever means are necessary to ensure the transmission and continuity of their language' (Article 8.2), and that they have the right to codify and standardize their language without any interference (Article 9).

Within Europe itself, language rights have been promoted by the Council of Europe, notably in the 1992 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML; see Grin 2003 for a detailed discussion). The European Commission formally adopted a policy to promote multilingualism in 2005, part of which is devoted to ensuring all EU citizens' access to official EU documents and other information in their own languages ('A new framework strategy for multilingualism', Commission of the European Communities 2005). The EU also recognizes virtually all of the official languages of its member states as official languages of the EU.[1] However, the ECRML has not been ratified by all EU member states, and Schilling (2008: 1241) concludes that 'there is no general principle of Community law requiring the respect of language rights'.

Although the protection of language rights promotes political and social justice, the institutionalization of such rights is not without problems. Language rights are often merely asserted as self-evident

truths, with no attempt to provide any theoretical grounding for them (Pupavac 2012: 32–3). The treatment of language rights as natural human rights and their codification in international law means that they can be imposed externally, without regard to national sovereignty and democratic principles. They can also infringe on individual rights and autonomy (Pupavac 2012: 44–6). Arguments in favor of language rights on the grounds that languages are the expression of a collective culture and identity, of 'a distinct way of perceiving and describing reality' (Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, Article 7.1), essentially treat communities and languages as natural entities rather than social constructs (Pupavac 2012: 72). In the context of the former Yugoslavia, the assertion of separate national and linguistic identities did in fact lead to the restriction of individual choices. As the Croatian author Dubravka Ugrešić wrote, in opposition to this essentialization of language and national identity: 'The language I write was called until recently Serbo-Croat (or Serbian and Croatian), and it was the language spoken by Croats, Serbs, Bosnians and Montenegrins. Today people are trying to force me to recognize Croatian as my mother-tongue, and Serbian and Bosnian as – foreign languages!' (Ugrešić 1998: 271). Citizens of the former Yugoslavia were certainly aware of the differences among their language varieties, and we can assume that most people identified to a greater or lesser extent with their own particular variety. In everyday speech, people often referred to their language simply as 'Croatian' or 'Serbian', for example, rather than 'Serbo-Croatian', 'Croato-Serbian', 'Croatian or Serbian', and so on. But this does not mean that everyone agreed with the forced division of what they may have previously understood to represent a single language, and especially not with attempts to increase linguistic divisions and raise barriers to communication within what had functioned before as a single linguistic community.

The official recognition of Croatian on the international level

Following the independence of Croatia and the declaration of Croatian as its official language, Croatian intellectuals and institutions have registered concerns about both the actual and potential failure of international entities to recognize the Croatian language. In 2004, the Office for International Cooperation of the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports requested an official opinion from HAZU on the status of the Croatian language, 'which can serve as the basis for a broad diplomatic

initiative' (Grčević 2008: 191, quoting an interview with Mislav Ježić that appeared in the newspaper *Vjesnik*). This statement was published in the journal *Jezik* in 2005, and is concerned primarily with the status of the Croatian language in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the EU. The authors cite a number of specific UN, Council of Europe, OSCE, and EU documents that guarantee the protection of linguistic rights as a justification for the equal treatment of Croatian. In several places in this text, HAZU makes specific policy recommendations concerning the status of Croatian on the international level. The authors state that the Croatian government, as well as Croatian diplomats and scholars, should represent and defend the equality of Croatian with other European languages (HAZU 2005: 42). They consider any attempt to deny Croats in Croatia, in the EU, or in Bosnia and Herzegovina the right to freely use their separate literary and/or standard language to be a violation of basic human rights, and insist that this should be the official position of representatives of the Republic of Croatia and representatives of the Croatian inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HAZU 2005: 46).

HAZU issued another declaration two years later ('The position of Croatian in European integration (*Položaj hrvatskoga u europskim integracijama*)', HAZU 2007b).[2] This text was motivated by reports that a British representative to the European Parliament had suggested that the EU should use a single official language for all the countries of the 'Western Balkans' for economic reasons.[3] The authors of HAZU (2007b) also complain that the UN's International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) persistently transmits reports intended for Croatia in Serbian, or less commonly in Bosnian, and that 'the Croatian language and literature cannot be studied without a forced marriage with Serbian and Bosnian' at any university in western Europe. They state that it is unclear to the Croatian public whether or not their government has protested against these threats. The tone of this text is highly emotional and includes some obvious exaggerations. For example, the authors state that Europe is preparing a single 'Bosno-Montenegro-Croato-Serbian' language for the 'small fry' (*sitnež*) of the Western Balkans, the unity of which would be dictated from some center that already has experience in this [the implication being that Belgrade will once again be in control of the language]. They go on to say that this would mean that the peoples of the Western Balkans would be third-class citizens in Europe ('*narodi s europske treće galerije*') who would have the right to call their language by its own name and cultivate its individual features 'only in the ghetto of their contemporary states (if this is not also forbidden to them)'. The authors call on

the Croatian government to raise the question of the Croatian language as part of official negotiations for accession to the EU, and as in HAZU (2005) they justify their position by referring to the use of one's own language and of one's own name for this language as fundamental human rights.

Despite such concerns, both in policy and in practice, Croatian and the mutually comprehensible štokavian-based standard languages used by its neighbors have generally (but not always) been recognized as distinct languages by international organizations in the period following the collapse of the former Yugoslavia. A case in point is the international community's treatment of these language varieties in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Dayton Peace Agreement ending the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not define any official language(s) for the state or establish any other language policies, but the Agreement concludes with a statement that it was executed in the Bosnian, Croatian, English, and Serbian languages, with all of the versions being equally authentic (Askew 2011: 134). Since the Dayton Agreement recognized the existence of three different languages in Bosnia and Herzegovina, international organizations working in the country initially 'adopted the practice of producing documentation in three separate language versions even though all three versions could be understood by members of all three sides. The impetus for this policy came from the local authorities themselves who demanded the appropriate language version for their particular ethnic group' (Askew 2011: 136). This practice provided early support for the claims to separate Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian linguistic identities and further solidified ethnic divisions within the region.

The situation changed to some extent after 2001, when the international community began to demand increased cooperation among the different ethnic groups, and the translation policies were relaxed both in the international military forces and in the Bosnia and Herzegovina Ministry of Defense. Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina working for their own military forces or government would produce documents in their native variety, which would routinely be accepted and approved in that single version, and linguists working for the international forces began producing 'universal' or 'neutral' translations of texts that avoided ethnically marked linguistic features as much as possible, so that they would be acceptable to all three groups (Askew 2011: 213–15). This change in practices could be interpreted as a partial return to 'Serbo-Croatian', as HAZU has warned (HAZU 2007b). However, it is best viewed as a practical recognition of the mutual intelligibility of

these language varieties. Similar practices have become common in relations between Croatia and Serbia. For example, statements from Serbian politicians quoted in the Croatian press are typically adapted from ekavian into ijekavian, but officials from both sides communicate without interpreters, rather than symbolically insisting on translation when none is necessary.

Apart from the work of the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there have been other clear affirmations of Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian as distinct languages on the international level. For example, the BBC's Yugoslav Service, which was established in 1939, was split into separate Croatian and Serbian services in the 1990s. Broadcasts in both languages were eventually discontinued due to budget cuts (Croatian in 2005, and Serbian in 2011).[4] The Voice of America also replaced its Serbo-Croatian language service with separate language services during the Yugoslav conflict in the 1990s. It discontinued its Croatian broadcasts in 2011, after 19 years of operation (Voice of America 2011), but as of 2013 still had separate Serbian and Bosnian services. The Serbian service is intended for both Serbia and Montenegro, according to the VOA website (http://www.glasamerike.net/info/about-us/1829.html), while the Bosnian service broadcasts 'in the languages of the peoples of BiH [Bosnia and Herzegovina]' (http://ba.voanews.com/info/about_us/1543.html). Countries with a diplomatic presence in Croatia naturally recognize Croatian as the official language of the country, as can be easily seen in references to the Croatian language on the official embassy websites (the same applies to the other successor states to the former Yugoslavia). Most significantly for Croatia, Croatian became an official language of the EU upon Croatia's accession on 1 July 2013, which guarantees its official recognition as a distinct language within this part of the international community.

However, as noted above, the ICTY treats Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian as a single language for translating and interpreting purposes ('Translation and Interpretation', ICTY [n.d.]), and in at least one of its decisions has stated that there is no linguistic justification for considering them to be separate languages (in reference to a request by the defendant Vojislav Šešelj that he receive documents in Serbian; see Grčević 2008: 190–1). On the basis of mutual intelligibility, this policy can be interpreted as conforming to the UN's 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which affirms the right to interpretation if a defendant 'cannot understand or speak the language used in court' (Article 14(f)). However, the 2001 report of the Committee of Experts on the application of the ECRML in Croatia states that 'speakers

of a regional or minority language may use that language before a court of law, even if they are capable of communicating in the official language' (Council of Europe 2001, paragraph 62; see Pupavac 2012: 31–2). The committee found that no law had been adopted in Croatia that would enable regional or minority language speakers to use their language in court, with the exception of Istria, where a separate agreement allowed the use of Italian. They concluded that they did not consider this obligation to be fulfilled (Council of Europe 2001, paragraphs 63–7). Given the expectations that have been applied to Croatia under the ECRML, one can understand why Croats might object to the use of a different standard in international institutions such as the ICTY.

Croatian efforts to protect the status of the Croatian language in Bosnia and Herzegovina

During the 1990s, Croatia's President Franjo Tuđman and his HDZ party pursued an aggressive policy to protect Croatian interests in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Tuđman's goal was to achieve political autonomy for the majority Croatian regions of the country, and possibly the secession of the self-declared Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosna and its incorporation into Croatia (see Hoare 1997). Virtually all Croats living in Bosnia and Herzegovina received Croatian citizenship and were given the right to participate in Croatian elections, as was also the case with other Croats living abroad. Since 90% of the total 'diaspora' voters were residents of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the seats reserved to represent the diaspora in the Croatian Sabor (originally 12, now reduced to 3) were effectively monopolized by the Bosnian HDZ party, thus securing additional safe seats for the HDZ in Croatia (Bassuener and Weber 2012: 15–16; Kasapović 2012). Croatia's political interest in the Croatian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina naturally extended to language policy as well. Croats constitute only 14.3% of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*CIA World Factbook*: Bosnia and Herzegovina), so the Croatian language could be seen here as a minority language in need of protection. This is the implicit or explicit justification for concerns about the status of the Croatian language in Bosnia and Herzegovina (see, for example, HAZU 2007a: 45–6). On the other hand, Croatian speakers are not disadvantaged in the same way as speakers of other minority languages (such as Romani), since Croatian is explicitly protected in the constitution and is mutually intelligible with Bosnian and Serbian.

Since the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995, Bosnia and Herzegovina has been divided into two primary administrative units: the Federation of

Bosnia and Herzegovina (predominantly Bosniak [Bosnian Muslim][5] and Croat); and the Republika Srpska (predominantly Serbian); plus the internationally supervised Brčko District. The Constitution of the Republika Srpska, Article 17, makes Serbian the official language there; the languages of other groups can be used officially in areas where these people live, subject to regulation by law. In the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Article 6, the official languages are Croatian and Bosnian (*bosanski*). Other languages can be used 'as means of communication and instruction' (Musa 2007: 123). The Federation is divided into cantons, each with its own constitution and laws, including slightly different language policies.

Linguists and politicians on both the Serbian and Croatian sides have objected to the use of the name 'Bosnian' (*bosanski*) for the language of the Bosniaks. For example, after stating that the Bosniaks have the right to call their language whatever they like, Brozović (1995: 13) adds the following qualification:

> [B]ut if they name this language not Bosniak (*bošnjački*) but rather Bosnian (*bosanski*), then it follows that it is the indigenous, state language, while Croatian and Serbian are imported, and that the Croats and Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina should really accept the Bosniak language under the Bosnian name as their own and as the common language for Bosnia and Herzegovina. This pretension is completely clear.

Brozović goes on to say that the Croats have the right to disagree with this and to call the language Bosniak if they so choose. We should note, however, that this position is not consistent with demands that he and other Croatian linguists have made that outsiders should abandon the use of the name Serbo-Croatian in reference to the language used by Croats. Similar concerns have been expressed by Croats living in Bosnia and Herzegovina, for example: 'Thus one might think that by means of the expression the Bosnian language (*bosanski jezik*), they desire to impose one unified, not to say unitary language, which will be spoken in all of Bosnia' (Dodig 1999, quoted by Mønnesland 2005: 507). These apprehensions may have some justification, to judge by some statements from the Bosniak side. In a school textbook titled *Our language* (*Naš jezik*), the authors say that 'The inhabitants of Bosnia call their language Bosnian (*bosanskim*)' (Gazibara i Zekić 2001, cited by Mønnesland 2005: 508). Naila Hebib-Valjevac has defended the term Bosnian for the language for the sake of greater Bosnian unity: 'The Bosnian (*bosanski*) language, apart from that, is the national language of the Bosniaks, but

also of all other peoples who feel Bosnia to be their homeland' (Hebib-Valjevac 1999, cited by Mønnesland 2005: 508–9; see Mønnesland 2005 for a more detailed discussion of this controversy).

Official language policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina is complicated by differences in the laws of its various administrative units and by ambiguities in the wording of some legislation. Certain cantons continued to apply the laws of the former Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina up until the passage of their own laws on education, some as late as 2001. As a result, instruction in the school systems in these areas was officially still being conducted in 'the standard literary language in the ijekavian pronunciation of the constituent nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is called by one of three names: Bosnian (*bosanski*), Serbian, and Croatian', and the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets were supposed to be treated equivalently (Musa 2007: 125). In 2002, the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina introduced amendments to the constitutions of both primary entities, which declared Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs to be constituent nations of both the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska, with all three languages and both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets being in official use throughout the country (Musa 2007: 126). According to a new law regulating primary and secondary education for the entire country that was passed in 2003, 'the languages of the constituent nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina shall be used in all schools, in accordance with the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. All pupils in the schools shall learn the alphabets that are in official use in Bosnia and Herzegovina' (Musa 2007: 127). Taken literally, this would seem to require that all schools would somehow have to use all three languages, regardless of whether they had any students or teachers from all of these ethnic groups. To make matters even murkier, the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina still exists only as a relatively brief annex to the Dayton Agreement, and does not specify any official languages for the country (Musa 2007: 127).

Musa (2007: 129) lists a number of perceived threats to the Croatian language in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including: the fact that only the University of Mostar has a department of Croatian; a constitutional court decision banning the official use of the Croatian term *županija* (county) for cantons; and the inadequate and incorrect use of Croatian in the media. There have been a number of conferences and symposia on the Croatian language in Bosnia and Herzegovina, one of which was devoted specifically to the threatened state of Croatian (Mønnesland 2005: 495). A number of Croatian linguists have insisted that the

standard language for Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the same as in Croatia, and that any attempts to assimilate Croatian linguistic and cultural identity into a common Bosnian-Herzegovinian identity are unacceptable (see Brozović 1995: 15–16; HAZU 2007a: 41; Musa 2007: 130). In addition, linguists have also emphasized that the contemporary standard Croatian language was based to a significant degree on the dialects used by Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina (HAZU 2007a: 41). However, not all Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina agree with assertion that their standard variety is identical with the one used in Croatia. A number of Croatian authors and intellectual figures in Bosnia and Herzegovina regularly use forms that are not considered to be standard within Croatia (particularly, forms that have been branded there as 'Serbian'), and the author Željko Ivanković has explicitly stated that the Croatian language in Bosnia and Herzegovina should not be limited exclusively to the Zagreb-Croatian norm. The Zagreb linguist Ivo Pranjković, who is of Bosnian origin himself, has also spoken out in favor of allowing the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina to cultivate their own variant of the standard language (Mønnesland 2005: 493–4). However, the political leaders of the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina have typically supported the position that the Bosnian Croats should use the same standard Croatian language that is employed in Croatia (Mønnesland 2005: 495).[6]

We have been able to find little direct evidence for official policies of the Republic of Croatia aimed at protecting the Croatian language in Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the time of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, areas with a Croatian majority simply followed the curricular plans of Croatia, and, up until 2000, textbooks published in Zagreb were approved for use and imported (Karge and Batarilo 2008: 15–16). In 2001, adaptations of Croatian textbooks, usually with minimal changes, began to be published in Mostar by Školska naklada, a branch of the Zagreb publisher Školska knjiga (Karge and Batarilo 2008: 16; Gustavsson 2009: 400, n. 3;). However, it is not clear to what extent the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sports (MZOS) or other branches of the Croatian government have actively supported the use of Croatian textbooks and educational programs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. MZOS has bilateral agreements with Bosnia and Herzegovina for cooperation in the areas of science, technology, culture, education, and sports, but these are not significantly different from agreements with other countries, and they make no specific mention of the Croatian language (MZOS [n.d.] 'Bosna i Hercegovina'). One piece of evidence pointing to official support for the Croatian language in

Bosnia and Herzegovina is the fact that Croatia's Agency for Education and Teacher Training has for a number of years organized annual conferences for teachers of Croatian minorities abroad, including the Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which have a heavy emphasis on the teaching of language and culture (AZOO 2012).

The teaching of the Croatian language and culture abroad

A number of Croatian linguists have called on foreign scholars, institutions of higher education, libraries, publishers, and so on to recognize Croatian as a distinct language (for example, Brozović 1996: 32–3). Brozović particularly insists on the elimination of the term 'Serbo-Croatian' in historical and comparative linguistics (1996: 33). Although he and others recognize the practical difficulties of separating Croatian and Serbian studies in Slavic departments abroad (see also HAZU 1996: 164), as mentioned above, HAZU has expressed concern that 'it is not possible to study the Croatian language and literature at a single university in so-called free Europe without a forced marriage with Serbian and Bosnian' (HAZU 2007b). In another declaration, HAZU called on the Croatian government to create lectureships abroad for the Croatian language, as well as departments of Croatian studies where possible, and to send teachers and books to foreign universities (HAZU 2005: 47). The promotion of the Croatian language abroad has in fact been a policy of MZOS since at least 1994. According to the Ministry's website, 'the affirmation of the Croatian language, literature, and culture is one of the priorities of Croatian politics' (MZOS [n.d.], 'Propisani postupak za izbor lektora'). The Ministry is responsible for 36 official exchange positions for lecturers in the Croatian language and literature and two centers for Croatian studies in Australia and Canada, which it cofinances, and it partly supports about 30 other lecturer positions (ibid.). MZOS also supports Croatian language instruction for children of Croatian origin living abroad (MZOS [n.d.], 'Hrvatska nastava u inozemstvu').

Currently, major universities in Europe and America that offer degree programs or courses on the languages of the former Yugoslavia do typically combine Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, and Montenegrin into a single program of study, as noted in HAZU (2007b). The language courses are usually titled 'Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS)' (for example, at the University of California Berkeley, the University of Chicago, or The Ohio State University), but other labels are occasionally found, and sometimes the university websites use conflicting names in different places. For example, at the time of writing (2013), the Université de

Strasbourg Département d'études slaves still refers to 'serbo-croate' on its website, and the Institut für Slavistik, Universität Hamburg refers to the language as Bosnisch-Kroatisch-Serbisch in some places and Serbokroatisch in others. The School of Slavonic and East European Studies of University College London advertises degrees in Serbian/Croatian, which the website describes as a single language: 'Serbian/Croatian is *a Slavonic language* [emphasis added] spoken by some 20 million native speakers.'[7]

In actual practice in the classroom, the approach to teaching these languages differs, but there have been noticeable changes since the break-up of Yugoslavia. Courses in BCS are often taught by visiting or part-time instructors, and particularly during the Yugoslav period the instructor would often simply teach her or his own native variety under the title of 'Serbo-Croatian'. For example, one of the authors of this book took a course in Serbo-Croatian in the late 1980s at Yale University, using the textbook *Serbo-Croatian for foreigners* (Babić 1985, published in Belgrade). This textbook consistently refers to the language as Serbo-Croatian and to the nationality of characters as Yugoslavian, but it is written entirely in Serbian: the main text presents only ekavian forms and uses lexical items that are typically Serbian (for example, *pozorište* 'theater', *bioskop* 'movie theater', *hleb* 'bread'); characters often have typically Serbian names (for example, *Jovan, Đorđe*); and most of the texts are set in Belgrade or other locations in Serbia. Croatian ijekavian equivalents are sometimes given in notes and in the glossary, but not consistently. The teacher for this course, however, was a visiting scholar from Zagreb, who naturally spoke only ijekavian in class and used typically Croatian lexical items.

Other textbooks published in Yugoslavia in the 1980s and early 1990s are similar to Babić (1985). Ćorić 1990 (4th edn), which was also published in Belgrade, likewise uses only 'the eastern variant of the literary Serbo-Croatian' (Ćorić 1990: 7), but includes equivalent ijekavian/Croatian forms under the Serbian head entries in the glossary. Textbooks for foreigners published in Zagreb, on the other hand, focused on Croatian (for example, *Učimo hrvatski/Let's learn Croatian*, Barac-Kostrenčić et al. 1982). The introduction to this textbook includes a statement reflecting the official policy at the time regarding the status of Croatian: 'In the Socialist Republic of Croatia people speak the Croatian language which is the standard form of the spoken language of the Croats and Serbs living in Croatia, officially called the Croatian or Serbian language' (Barac-Kostrenčić et al. 1982: ix). Elsewhere, the textbook refers to the language simply as 'Croatian' and it does not include any ekavian forms or Serbian lexical items.

Textbooks published in the US before the 1990s used the name Serbo-Croatian for the language, but at least some of them made more of an effort to provide an equal treatment of both the eastern and western 'variants'. For example, Magner's *Introduction to the Serbo-Croatian language* (1962: 2) states: 'Throughout the book careful attention has been given to the distinctive features of Croatian speech as against Serbian speech'. All of the material was carefully checked by native speakers of both Croatian and Serbian to ensure that both varieties were represented as accurately as possible (ibid.). The conversations in each lesson are given in parallel Croatian (Latin) and Serbian (Cyrillic) versions, although they are not labeled as such, and the exercises are in Croatian with Serbian variants given in parentheses. Later editions of the textbook changed the title to *Introduction to the Croatian and Serbian language* (Magner 1991, reprinted 1998), keeping the same basic structure but now explicitly labeling texts as Croatian or Serbian. Lukic (1979, 2nd edn 1981) followed the same practice as Magner, with parallel Croatian and Serbian texts and parallel versions of exercises whenever practical.

More recently, several textbooks for classroom or individual instruction have been published in separate versions for these different language varieties. Celia Hawkesworth's *Colloquial Serbo-Croat* (1986) later appeared as *Colloquial Croatian and Serbian* (1997), and then was divided into *Colloquial Croatian* (Hawkesworth and Jović 2006) and *Colloquial Serbian* (Hawkesworth and Ćalić 2006; see Baker 2012 for a discussion). Similarly, David Norris's *Serbo-Croat: A complete course for beginners* (1993) was later published in separate Croatian and Serbian versions under different titles (Norris 2003, 2010; Norris and Ribnikar 2003; Ribnikar and Norris 2010), and Aida Vidan and Robert Niebuhr's 2009 textbooks appeared originally in parallel versions (*Beginner's Croatian* and *Beginner's Serbian*). Bosnian has received less individual attention. The only separate textbook for Bosnian that we are aware of is Riđanović (2012). However, special mention should be made of *Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian, a textbook* (Alexander and Elias-Bursać 2006) and *Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian, a grammar* (Alexander 2006), which treat all three varieties in parallel and include an extensive sociolinguistic commentary on the differences among them. To the best of our knowledge, these are currently the only textbooks for foreigners that give equal treatment to Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian.

In conversations with colleagues who teach these languages today, they generally agree that it is necessary to be sensitive to the needs and desires of individual students, who may wish to learn a particular variety for any of a number of reasons, and that instruction should take

linguistic differences into account, to the extent that this is possible. However, the small number of students studying BCS makes it impractical to have separate courses and instructors, and there is a limit to how much attention can be paid to different varieties in a combined course, both because of the knowledge of the individual instructor and constraints on time. The growing tendency to publish instructional materials in separate versions for the individual languages makes the task more difficult, and even well-designed textbooks such as Alexander and Elias-Bursać (2006), which give equal attention to the different varieties, can prove to be confusing for students.

Conclusion

As the preceding discussion has shown, foreign governments and international organizations have widely recognized Croatian and the other closely related štokavian-based standard varieties as distinct languages, both in name and, to a somewhat lesser degree, in actual practice. This recognition is based largely on the concept of linguistic self-determination as a human right. For financial or other reasons it is not always practical to provide simultaneous interpretation or translations of documents into multiple, mutually intelligible languages, and in these situations the peoples of the former Yugoslavia are often open to compromise, as long as they feel that their language rights are not being threatened. In foreign academic circles, there has sometimes been more reluctance to accept Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian as separate languages, based on their close genetic relationship and structural similarities (see Chapter 3 for examples). However, professional linguists have also played an important role in the evolution of the concept of language rights, and except for those who are rigidly bound to their own theoretical frameworks based on the assumption that languages are natural entities, linguists generally recognize that languages are essentially social and changeable constructs.

Unfortunately, the promotion of language rights for one group may infringe on the freedom of others, as also noted above. The liberation of the Croatian language from the linguistic policies of the former Yugoslavia, which were aimed at creating a unified Serbo-Croatian standard, and the subsequent efforts to enhance the status of Croatian as a distinct language have sometimes resulted in attempts to rigidly define what is authentically Croatian, at the expense of individual freedom. This can be seen clearly in the case of the Croatian language in Bosnia, for example. As Ivan Lovrenović has said:

> […] Croatian political leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina have made an ultimatum – as the realization of the right to one's own language, one's own culture, and one's own media – for the mechanical copying of the language and the entire linguistic-educational and media system that is in force in the Republic of Croatia, without any Bosnian Croatian dimension. As a result, in the declared struggle for identity our only real Bosnian Croatian identity is in fact being betrayed and abandoned. (Lovrenović 2002: 39, cited by Mønnesland 2005: 494)

Language rights are thus a double-edged sword; while they allow individuals and groups to express a crucial aspect of their own identity, they can at the same time force some individuals into a particular form of group identity that they do not necessarily espouse.

6

Croatian Language Policy at the National Level and the Regulation of Public Language

Introduction: the constitutional basis of language policy

This chapter will examine language policy on the macro-level (see Chapter 2), namely the legal basis for language management in the Republic of Croatia and the ways that language is regulated on the national level in areas directly under governmental control. The starting point here is clearly the declaration of an official language in the Croatian constitution. The relevant article of the constitution is succinct:

> Article 12
>
> In the Republic of Croatia the Croatian language and Latin alphabet are in official use. In individual local communities another language and the Cyrillic or some other alphabet may be introduced into official use alongside the Croatian language and Latin alphabet, under conditions prescribed by law. (Sabor Republike Hrvatske 1990)[1]

All other details concerning the official language and the actual implementation of this article of the constitution are left open to legislation and administrative regulation.

The second provision of Article 12 is currently covered by the Constitutional Law on the Rights of National Minorities (Ustavni zakon o pravima nacionalnih manjina, Hrvatski sabor 2002), which replaced previous laws regulating the language rights of national minorities and is intended to conform to the international conventions on minority rights to which Croatia is a party, including the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML). This law was enacted following a report of the Committee of Experts on the ECRML regarding the application of the Charter in Croatia, which made some

recommendations for improvements (Council of Europe 2001; see Chapter 5). The Constitutional Law on the Rights of National Minorities guarantees the right of national minorities to the use of their own languages and scripts, both in private and in public; to education in these languages and scripts; and to the expression of their culture, traditions, and religious beliefs. It guarantees political representation of minorities at both the local and national levels, subject to certain conditions, and Article 12 states that if a national minority makes up at least one-third of the population of some area of local administration, their language and alphabet shall be in official use in this area, on an equal basis with Croatian. In Istria County, both Italian and Croatian are in official use and have equal status (Skupština Istarske županije 2009, Statut Istarske županije Chapter 1, Article 6), and inhabitants of this region on the whole view this multilingualism in a positive light (see, for example, Božić et al. 2012). However, this provision of the Constitutional Law on the Rights of National Minorities caused conflict in Vukovar when the results of the 2011 census showed that Serbs now made up more than one-third of the population. The president of the local branch of the Independent Democratic Serbian Party (Samostalna demokratska srpska stranka, or SDSS) consequently demanded that the statute of Vukovar be amended to give the Serbian language and Cyrillic alphabet official status (Zebić 2012). This triggered protests both in Vukovar and in other parts of Croatia, using the slogan 'Vukovar will never be Вуковар', due to the memories of the brutal Serbian siege of the city in 1991 (see, for example, Rašović 2013b). Ironically, one of the justifications cited by opponents of this change was that the ECRML applies only to minority languages that are different from the majority language; they argued that since the language of the Serb minority in Croatia is based on the same štokavian dialect as Croatian it should not be subject to this protection (Rašović 2013b). Prime Minister Zoran Milanović insisted that the law be observed, and the local authorities were supposed to begin installing Cyrillic signs in February 2013 ('Sutra kreće ćirilica u Vukovaru', 19 February 2013). When the first signs were actually installed on public buildings in September 2013, protestors removed or destroyed several of the signs; a number of people were arrested, and four police officers were injured while trying to restrain the protestors (Patković 2013). Unrest over this situation continued, and in November 2013 a citizens group led by war veterans, the Command for the Defense of Croatian Vukovar (Stožer za obranu hrvatskog Vukovara), began collecting signatures for a referendum to change the legal framework regarding minority language rights ('Počelo prikupljanje potpisa

za referendum o ćirilici' 2013). According to reports immediately after the deadline, the group succeeded in collecting enough signatures, but Prime Minister Milanović announced that the government would not allow such a referendum on minority rights (HINA 2013c). At the time of writing (April 2014), there had been no new developments concerning this petition.[2]

It is interesting to note that the first provision of Article 12 of the constitution has not yet received any comprehensive legal or administrative interpretation. Given widespread misconceptions about the nature of languages, it is not surprising that the authors of the constitution appear to assume that the term 'the Croatian language' will be unambiguous, although this is certainly not the case, as we have already discussed at some length in Chapter 2. Presumably, their intent was to confer official status on the standardized variety of Croatian, but the wording of the constitution leaves open the possibility that non-standard local varieties could similarly be used in official contexts. The term 'official use' (*službena uporaba*) also remains undefined. Again, we may assume that this covers all areas under direct governmental control (such as administrative organs, the judiciary, the military, the educational system, and so on), but it may also be understood to encompass other unspecified spheres of public language. Indeed, discussions of this topic within Croatia often use the broader term 'public use' (*javna uporaba*) instead.

The legislative regulation of language within specific areas of governmental jurisdiction

Since 1990, the government of Croatia has enacted a number of laws or regulations that deal specifically with language policy. Apart from laws regarding the language rights of national minorities already discussed above, these may be classified according to the areas that they cover: the media, the educational system, business and commerce, the judicial system, the military, and other areas of governmental administration.[3]

The media

The Law on Public Information (Zakon o javnom informiranju, Sabor Republike Hrvatske 1992e) obliges the government to provide material support for print and other media in the languages of national minorities (Article 8). Otherwise, the only indication of language policy in this document concerns some changes (detailed in Article 66) to a number of individual articles of the previous Law on Public Information that are expressly said to remain in effect after the passage of the current law.

These include the replacement or elimination of words that are seen as insufficiently Croatian or that are connected with the previous socialist system of government; for example, *stanice* is replaced by *postaje* 'stations', a section of text containing the words *štamparija* 'printing firm' and *štampati* 'to print' is eliminated, *organizacije udruženog rada* (organizations of cooperative labor – part of the Yugoslav economic policy of socialist self-management) is replaced by *poduzeća i ustanova* (companies and institutions).

The next media law for which the text is accessible (Zakon o medijima, Hrvatski sabor 2004) contains no provisions about the language of the media. However, an explicit attempt to regulate language can be seen in the Law on Electronic Media (Zakon o elektroničkim medijima, Hrvatski sabor 2009).[4] The text of the relevant article is cited below:

Article 4

1. Providers of media services are obliged to broadcast their programs in the Croatian language and the Latin alphabet or in a translation into Croatian, in accordance with the provisions of this law.
2. Providers of media services may also promote creative work in the dialects of Croatian, which is considered to fulfill the requirement in Item 1 of this article.
3. Use of the Croatian language is not obligatory:
   – if films and other audio or audiovisual works are broadcast in their original form,
   – if musical works with texts partly or completely in a foreign language are broadcast,
   – if programs are partly or wholly intended for the study of a foreign language and writing system.
4. The use of the Croatian language is not obligatory in programs intended for members of national minorities, in accordance with the Constitutional Law on the Rights of National Minorities.
5. As an exception to the provision in Item 1 of this article, providers of media services may broadcast an informative program and service information for the needs of foreign guests in [their] languages, according to the representation of foreign guests on the territory of their concession.

Thus, the broadcast media are required to present their broadcasts primarily in Croatian, with a limited number of exceptions. The specific mention of Croatian dialects here is also of interest; Article 64 of this

law further specifies that the Fund for Pluralism and Variety in the Electronic Media can be used to promote the creation of such works in Croatian dialects. This indicates that official language policy includes the goal of preserving and supporting local dialects, which are also seen as part of Croatian cultural identity.

The application of the linguistic provisions of the Law on Electronic Media has recently been the subject of some controversy. In January 2012, a viewer reportedly complained to the Council for Electronic Media (Vijeće za elektroničke medije), an independent body tasked with administering this law, because the RTL network had broadcast a Serbian film without subtitles. The Council sent a warning to the network about this violation, saying that they are obliged to respond to such viewer complaints and to enforce the provisions of the law (Ciglenečki 2012). This created a minor scandal in the Croatian media. The management of RTL called for the resignation of the entire Council, and they eventually went ahead with a planned broadcast of another Serbian film in the same series, in spite of the Council's warning that this could lead to the loss of their concession. The Ministry of Culture and the director of the Croatian Audiovisual Center weighed in on the question, pointing out that the Law on Electronic Media allows for the broadcast of films in the languages of national minorities, and that this question should be approached in a rational manner, taking into account the facts that languages such as Serbian are understood by all Croats and that the requirements for subtitling must be applied equally to all broadcasters. (Pavić 2012)

The educational system

The primary legislation governing the educational system is the Law on Education in Primary and Secondary Schools (Zakon o odgoju i obrazovanju u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi, MZOŠ 2008b). Articles 6 through 8 of this law stipulate that instruction and other educational work in schools are to be conducted in Croatian, with additional provisions for education in the languages of national minorities and for special foreign-language programs (MZOŠ 2008b). Specific policies regarding the norms of the standard language can be seen most clearly in national standards for the curriculum and for textbooks, several versions of which have appeared since 1990, as well as in the approved textbooks themselves. The ideology of the national language promoted in these texts is also interesting. This material is discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

The name of the ministry in charge of education is itself indicative of the language policies of the Croatian government since 1990. Up

until 1992 this ministry was called Ministarstvo prosvjete, kulture i sporta (Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sports). In 1992, *sporta* was changed to *športa*, the form preferred by most language purists, and this spelling was retained in the reorganization in 2003 that combined this ministry with the previous Ministry of Science and Technology to create the Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i športa (Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports).[5] The HDZ held the parliamentary majority throughout almost this entire period, with the exception of the years 2000–2003. Immediately after the election of a new Social Democratic Party (SDP) majority in December 2011, the spelling was changed back to *sporta*. The new minister, Željko Jovanović, was quoted as saying: 'I will be the Minister of Science, Education, and Sports (*sporta*), which I especially emphasize. *Sporta*. Thus also on this symbolic level great changes are beginning, not only in my Ministry but also in the whole government' ('Novi ministri, nova ministarstva' 2011). The Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics protested against this name change in an open letter to the new prime minister, Zoran Milanović, on 3 January 2012. The letter states that the word *šport* was originally borrowed from German and/or Austrian sources, with the spelling reflecting the German pronunciation, and that the form *sport* is a later borrowing from English. Although the letter does not explicitly state that *šport* should be considered the norm in standard Croatian, this opinion can be inferred from the recommendation to use this spelling.[6] The way that this seemingly insignificant change was announced and the resulting controversy highlight the symbolic importance of language in Croatian society. We can also point to other symbolic changes in the usage of specific lexical items within MZOS. For example, *izvješće* 'report' was (incorrectly) branded as the authentically Croatian form in the 1990s, and rapidly replaced the equivalent form *izvještaj* in official usage. The MZOS website shows a change back towards the use of *izvještaj* beginning around 2012; see, for example, the titles of documents archived on the page describing educational programs for the Roma minority (http://public.mzos.hr/Default.aspx?sec=3156, accessed 17 July 2013).

Business and commerce

According to the Law on Corporations (Zakon o trgovačkim društvima, Sabor Republike Hrvatske 1993b), Article 20, the name of a corporation must be in the Croatian language and the Latin alphabet. Under certain conditions, individual foreign words may be included in the name. However, this article of the law has apparently never been strictly enforced. A search of the official Court Registry of Corporations

(Sudski registar trgovačkih društava, https://sudreg.pravosudje.hr/registar/) yields numerous names that are entirely or almost entirely in English, for example: Adriatic Travel Design, Art Design Studio San Marco, Design Quotient, Interior Design Studio, Fashion and Style, At Top Speed, Top Adriatic Tours, and so on.

The judicial system

After Croatia declared its independence, terminology that had been used in the legal/judicial system prior to the establishment of a unified Yugoslav state was reintroduced. Several laws passed in late 1992 made global changes to terminology in previous versions of the criminal code. For example, the Law on Changes to the Law on Criminal Proceedings (Zakon o izmjenama Zakona o krivičnom postupku, Sabor Republike Hrvatske 1992c), Article 41, mandates the following replacements:

> In the entire text of the Law the words: 'tužilac', 'tužioc', 'tužilaštvo', 'stepen', 'budžetska sredstva', 'budžet', 'prijavilac', 'izvršilac', 'učinilac', 'štampa', 'glasanje', 'rezervni mladi oficir', 'oficir', 'pripadnik milicije', 'putna isprava', 'radni ljudi', 'državni organ', 'organ unutrašnjih poslova', 'organizacije udruženog rada', 'organizacija udruženog rada ili druga organizacija odnosno zajednica', 'organizacija udruženog rada ili druga samoupravna organizacija ili zajednica', 'tok', 'saopćenje', 'saopćavanje', 'saopćiti', 'zakletva', 'zakleti', 'republički organ uprave nadležan za pravosuđe', are to be replaced with the following words in the appropriate cases: 'tužitelj', 'tužiteljstvo', 'stupanj', 'proračunskih sredstava'[sic],[7] 'proračun', 'prijavitelj', 'izvršitelj', 'počinitelj', 'tisak', 'glasovanje', 'pričuvni časnik', 'časnik', 'pripadnik redarstvene službe', 'putovnica', 'djelatnici', 'državno tijelo', 'organ unutarnjih poslova', 'poduzeće', 'poduzeće ili druga pravna osoba', 'tijek', 'priopćenje', 'priopćavanje', 'priopćiti', 'prisega', 'prisegnuti', 'Ministarstvo pravosuđa i uprave'.

Similar, although less extensive, changes are listed in the Law on Changes to the Law on Execution of Judgments (Zakon o izmjenama Zakona o izvršnom postupku, Sabor Republike Hrvatske 1992b), Article 8; the Law on Changes and Additions to the Criminal Law of the Republic of Croatia (Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Krivičnog zakona Republike Hrvatske, Sabor Republike Hrvatske 1992a), Article 31; and the Law on Changes to the Law on Economic Offenses (Zakon o izmjenama Zakona o privrednim prijestupima, Sabor Republike Hrvatske 1992d), Article 11.

The military

Similar systematic changes were made to military terminology, replacing terminology that was associated with the Yugoslav armed forces. This can be seen in the text of the Law on Changes and Additions to the Law on Defense (Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o obrani, Sabor Republike Hrvatske 1993a). Article 51 lists a number of changes to be made throughout the text of the previous law: the words *komande, štabovi i jedinice* are to be replaced by *zapovjedništva, stožeri i postrojbe* 'commands, headquarters, and units', the words *starješine, pretpostavljeni starješina, bataljun i disciplina* are to be replaced by *zapovjednik i časnik, nadređeni, bojna i stega* 'commanding officer and officer, superiors, battalion and discipline', and so on.

Other areas of governmental administration

While it is not possible to survey all possible areas regulated by law, two examples may be cited here. The Law on Institutes (Zakon o ustanovama, Sabor Republike Hrvatske 1993c), similar to the Law on Corporations cited above, requires in Article 22 that the names of all institutes be in Croatian, written in the Latin alphabet. Institutes that are located in an area where the language of a national minority has official status must have a Croatian name and then a name in the minority language in the second place. As with corporations, individual foreign words are allowed in names under certain circumstances. The leader of an institute is specifically designated as a *ravnatelj* (and not *direktor*) in Article 37. The term *ravnatelj* has been heavily promoted by purists and here, as elsewhere, has become part of official administrative terminology. However, the government has not attempted to introduce standardized, purely Croatian forms into all areas. It would, of course, be impractical to introduce new Croatian forms to replace all existing foreign borrowings, but this is not done consistently even when Croatian forms already exist. For example, the National Classification of Occupations (Nacionalna klasifikacija zanimanja, or NKZ, Državni zavod za statistiku 1998), which was established with the goal of standardizing job titles and was created in consultation with the Zavod za hrvatski jezik Hrvatskog filološkog instituta (the name of the IHJJ from 1991–1996), rejects the term *menadžer* 'manager', but retains *direktor* 'director' in the area of business, since this has already become well established in Croatian usage.[8] The NKZ specifies the native form *ravnatelj* for directors of institutes or governmental bodies (as in the Zakon o ustanovama above).[9]

According to the instructions for use (Section 9) of the NKZ, the terminology in the main section of the classification must be given priority in official usage; other, dispreferred terms are included in the appendix to each section 'for better orientation in the NKZ. These terms are given in their original form, in the way that they are most often used in the speech of persons who deal with these jobs, and these terms are not standardized'. Each job title is assigned a number, and the terms in the main text are given in lower-case letters, while the older ones in the appendices appear in upper-case. There is a clear preference for native Croatian terms, where these are possible; for example, 1124.11.0 *veleposlanik* 'ambassador' (APPENDIX: 1124.11.0 AMBASADOR), 2421.11.7 *odvjetnik* 'lawyer' (APPENDIX: 2421.11.7 ADVOKAT), 2453.12.7 *akademski skladatelj* 'academic composer' (APPENDIX: 2453.12.7 AKADEMSKI KOMPOZITOR). 'Director (of a film, play)' is consistently *redatelj* (DIREKTOR FILMA appears once in an appendix, 1229.22.0). The terms *glazbenik* 'musician', *glazbeni* 'musical' are used throughout for approved titles; *muzički* only occurs once, in an appendix (2150.12.7 MUZIČKI VODITELJ-MONTAŽER ZVUKA 'musical director-sound editor'). The same is true for *računalstvo* 'computer science', *računalni* 'computer (ADJ)'; forms such as *kompjuter, kompjuterski* do not occur. However, usage in other instances is not entirely consistent. For example, the main text primarily uses the terms *gospodarstvo* 'economy', *gospodarski* 'economic', while all of the job titles in the classification use the adjectival form *ekonomski* (2321.38.7 *profesor ekonomskih predmeta* 'professor of economics', 2441.51.8 *istraživač ekonomskih znanosti* 'economics researcher', 4121.21.4 *ekonomski službenik* 'employee/staffer in economics', and so on). The document uses *zrakoplov* 'airplane (NOUN)', *zrakoplovni* 'airplane (ADJ)' in virtually all related job titles and descriptions, but 'airplane pilot' retains the borrowed form *avion*: 3143.11.6 *pilot aviona*.

The most recent version of the NKZ (Državni zavod za statistiku 2010) gives only the broader categories, not every single occupation listed in the 1998 version, but the titles are essentially the same. It is interesting to note, however, that the term *djelatnik* 'worker' is used here much more frequently than in the earlier version; for example, the category of *radnici jednostavnih zanimanja* 'unskilled workers' in the 1998 NKZ is replaced by *djelatnici/djelatnice jednostavnih zanimanja* in the 2010 version. This indicates that the term *djelatnik*, which originally had a narrower scope (compare *javni djelatnik* 'public figure', *kulturni djelatnik* 'cultural figure'), has expanded in official use to cover all types of workers, even simple laborers. It is presumably preferred over *radnik* 'worker'

due to the association of the latter term with the previous socialist government.[10]

Language planning in the context of EU integration

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the status of the Croatian language frequently figured as a topic of discussion with respect to Croatia's accession to the European Union. In 2003, the SDP-led government introduced a Decision on the Creation of a Strategy for the Development of Linguistic Culture (Odluka o izradi strategije razvitka jezične kulture, Vlada Republike Hrvatske 2003a), which stated:

> The task of this project is the development of a strategy, which will include work on the realization of a Croatian linguistic standard, the development of linguistic education, the relationship of the Croatian language to other languages, and the preservation of Croatian linguistic identity in official communication with the European Union.

Shortly after the publication of this decision, the academician August Kovačec sent a letter of protest to the government. He had been involved as a representative of HAZU in the early stages of discussions about the Strategy, but was not included in the production of the final text, and he disagreed with the wording about 'the realization of a Croatian linguistic standard'. He was also concerned that HAZU was not included in the list of institutions to be represented on the commission established to oversee the Strategy (Babić 2004b: 46). Early in the following year Dunja Brozović Rončević, director of the IHJJ, also sent a letter of protest in the name of the Institute to the newly elected Prime Minister Ivo Sanader (HDZ). She stated:

> It is unacceptable that an official publication of the Republic of Croatia would assert that a Croatian linguistic standard does not exist, especially at the moment of setting in motion Croatia's approach to the European Union and the definition of the status of the Croatian language in international communication, at a time of general globalization, which threatens even languages with a significantly larger number of speakers than Croatian. (Babić 2004b: 46)

The linguist Nataša Bašić (2005: 8) went so far as to describe the Strategy as part of a plot by unnamed forces working towards the 'negation and destabilization of the Croatian linguistic and orthographic norms that

have been achieved' and as an attempt to carry out 'a restandardization on principles that are not in accordance with the Croatian linguistic-orthographic heritage and the achievements of modern Croatian linguistics. The ultimate goal of such acts is to strip the Croatian language of its identity and to return it to the position of the "western variant" of Serbo-Croatian' (Bašić 2005: 8). According to Bašić, the controversial text announcing the Strategy had not yet been changed at the time of her writing, despite the protests of linguists (ibid.).

It is unclear what concrete steps, if any, the government took to implement the Strategy with respect to Croatian language education or the general level of linguistic culture in Croatia. However, at the same time that the Strategy was announced, the government also announced the creation of a Commission for the Development of a Glossary for the Official Translation of Acts of the European Union, or the Translation of Croatian Legislation into the Official Languages of the European Union (Vlada Republike Hrvatske 2003b). The membership of the commission included representatives from the IHJJ, the Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, and the Department of the Croatian Language at the University of Zagreb, as well as three other experts in foreign languages or certified translators and three Croatian language editors (*lektori*). According to this decision (Point VII), the IHJJ was to publish this glossary on its website, but this apparently never took place (see Czerwiński 2005: 89). The Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs for some time offered a 'Glossary of European Integration' (Pojmovnik europskih integracija) on its website, but it is not clear whether this represented the work of the Commission established in 2003. This glossary, which we may assume represents the officially sanctioned terminology, is not puristically oriented; internationalisms are established as the official translations in most instances, and a number of acronyms are adopted as is, without translation.[11]

Calls for a comprehensive law on language

Although standardized Croatian terminology has successfully been introduced in some areas (particularly in the legal system and the military) through laws or other governmental regulation, other attempts to regulate language use have been less successful, due to lax enforcement (see, for example, the Law on Corporations). As mentioned above, the constitutional provision that Croatian 'is in official use' is ambiguous, and there have been repeated calls since Croatia's independence to introduce a more comprehensive law on language. The existence

of similar laws in other European countries, including other former Yugoslav republics, is typically cited as a precedent.

In 1995, a member of parliament from the HDZ party, Vice Vukojević, proposed two laws: a Law on the Croatian Language and a Law to Establish a State Office for the Croatian language (Prijedlog Zakona o hrvatskome jeziku; and Prijedlog Zakona o osnivanju Državnoga ureda za hrvatski jezik; see Vujnović 1995; Bašić 2011). The draft version of these proposals that was circulated at the time provoked a strong negative reaction among the public. Not only did the author of the proposed law espouse an extreme form of purism, with fines or other penalties for the use of foreign words, but he also called for a return to the *korienski pravopis* (etymological orthography) of the NDH. The proposal to establish a State Office for the Croatian Language (Državni ured za hrvatski jezik), with practically the same name as the government office established to enforce language purism during the NDH, made this initiative even less politically acceptable to the majority of Croats. The proposed laws were rejected by the Sabor.[12]

Ivo Škarić, an emeritus professor of phonetics at the University of Zagreb and president of the Croatian Philological Society (Hrvatsko filološko društvo), sent a letter on behalf of the Society to the prime minister in 2006 asking the government to pass a comprehensive language law. Škarić stated in the letter that, although the constitution stipulates that the Croatian language and Latin alphabet are in official use, 'without legal specification it is not sufficiently clear what constitutes official use and what is the relationship between official use and public use. Not even the Croatian language itself is clearly defined, given that it consists of many different idioms' (Kalogjera-Brkić 2007). In a statement for the newspaper *Jutarnji list*, Škarić bemoaned the careless attitude towards the Croatian language that could be observed every day in the media and elsewhere. He went on to say:

> If we have prescribed a national anthem and coat of arms by law, then we should do the same for language. Language for us should be a shade more clearly defined than our national borders. It is exceptionally important to know whether it is more correct to use *sport* or *šport*, not in a communicative but in a symbolic sense. Today you can use *sport*, although we know that *šport* is in official use, and nobody can do anything to you here. But, when *šport* is prescribed as the single correct form, then you as an individual and the institution in which you work are obliged to adhere to that. (Kalogjera-Brkić 2007)

According to this article, Škarić wanted the Sabor to decide which pravopis should be in official use, or possibly put the question to a public referendum, and in his view the requested law on language should include punishments for individuals who violate it. The same article states that the majority of linguists present at the Fourth Croatian Slavistic Conference agreed that Croatia should pass a special law on language prior to its accession to the EU. However, in other reports that appeared in the media it was clear that many linguists disputed the need for such a law. Although Prime Minister Sanader reportedly forwarded Škarić's request to the Minister of Science, Education, and Sports for consideration, no other official action was taken at this time.

In April of 2010, Dragutin Lesar, president of the Croatian Workers' Party (Hrvatski laburisti-Stranka rada) announced a proposed Law on the Public Use of the Croatian Language (Prijedlog Zakona o javnoj uporabi hrvatskoga jezika, Hrvatski sabor 2010). The text of the proposed law asserts that there is no systematic legal regulation requiring the use of Croatian in various domains of public life. In particular, the proposal cites the need to defend the rights of workers as a main reason for the legislation, expressing concern about the increasing use of English or other languages as the internal language of communication in company offices in Croatia, the publication of employment advertisements in English, and so on. However, the proposed law is much broader than this, and makes specific reference to the preservation of linguistic and cultural identity in addition to the issue of workplace communication.

Although it appeals to the constitution's declaration of Croatian as the official language of the Republic of Croatia as the legal basis for the new law, the proposal makes a leap by implying that there is a necessary connection between this official status and what is termed loosely as 'public use' of the language. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Article 12 of the constitution gives Croatian official status, without specifying the contexts in which the official language must be used. Article 1 of the proposed law, on the other hand, interprets this constitutional provision to mean that 'the Croatian standard language is the means of oral and written communication in all spheres of public and social life in the Republic of Croatia', except in circumstances where the law allows the parallel use of the languages of national minorities, or when international agreements allow for the use of other languages (Hrvatski sabor 2010). The phrase 'all spheres of public and social life' is exceptionally broad, and could include situations not envisioned by the proposers of this law. However, the areas specifically included in

the legislation are already quite extensive. The proposed law requires the use of Croatian not only in national, regional, and local governmental administration and by businesses registered in Croatia, but also in all media organizations registered in Croatia. In a separate article it stipulates that all press conferences and press releases in Croatia must be in Croatian. According to the wording here, this provision would apparently apply equally to visiting officials who provide briefings for their own national media while in Croatia, which would be absurd. The law requires that education at all levels be conducted in Croatian; any educational programs in a foreign language require special permission. Cultural, entertainment, and sporting events are also covered by the law. For example, all foreign films must be subtitled or dubbed in Croatian, and theater performances in a foreign language require special permission of the responsible ministry unless a Croatian translation is also provided. Although it does not address other scholarly publications, proceedings of international conferences funded from public sources would be required to have a title and introduction in Croatian, as well as Croatian abstracts for all papers. Additionally, the law calls on the government to promote the study of Croatian both at home and abroad and to develop an educational program for adult citizens of Croatia to improve their knowledge of Croatian. Since the text goes on to mention a special portion of this program adapted for foreign citizens living in Croatia, one may infer that the intent here is to improve native speakers' ability to use the standard language, although this is not entirely clear.

As with the earlier proposals for a language law, the one by the Hrvatski laburisti attracted a considerable amount of attention and discussion in the media. At the request of the Minister of Science, Education, and Sports, the Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language discussed the proposal at their meeting on 18 May 2010 and provided their opinion in support of the law (Vijeće za normu 2013: 141–2). However, after the first reading, the Sabor declined to act on the proposal. The party reintroduced the proposal in Parliament in January of 2012, and once again some linguists spoke out in the press in its favor (see HINA 2012), but the Sabor again declined to act.

Despite the failure of these previous efforts, the Matica hrvatska introduced a new proposal for a Law on the Public Use of the Croatian Language (Zakon o javnoj uporabi hrvatskoga jezika) in 2013. The preamble states that the law should be introduced due to the importance of the Croatian language for Croatian national identity and Croatian

culture, which is part of the general cultural heritage of Europe and needs to be protected in an era of globalization. It also asserts that the promotion and preservation of the Croatian language are the duty of all public institutions and all citizens of the Republic of Croatia (Matica hrvatska 2013). The first article of the proposed law corrects the oversight in Article 12 of the constitution by specifying that the Croatian *standard* language is in official use, and that all subsequent references to the Croatian language in the text refer to the standard variety. Article 4 states that defense of the Croatian language includes care for the proper use of Croatian, and that users of Croatian should perfect their linguistic expression. It also includes the preservation and promotion of all idioms of Croatian (presumably referring to local dialects). Article 5 stipulates that Croatian is the official language for all governmental bodies, all institutions and organizations involved in any public activity, the media, the educational system, and all scientific institutions. The second part of the law specifies legal protections for the Croatian language. For example, it stipulates that all business communication in Croatia between Croatian or between Croatian and foreign businesses or individuals must be conducted in Croatian (Article 9), and that all broadcasts must be translated into Croatian (Article 14). The law includes protections for the use of the languages of national minorities and limited exceptions to the use of Croatian under special circumstances (for example, in specialized foreign-language immersion schools). Part 3 of the proposed law provides for the establishment of a Council for the Public Use of the Croatian Language (Vijeće za javnu uporabu hrvatskoga jezika) to monitor the linguistic situation, to report to the Sabor and other governmental bodies, and to provide practical advice to individuals and organizations. Parts 4 and 5 describe how the law is to be administered and specify monetary fines for violations.

This proposal has, predictably, invited similar reactions as the previous ones. Parts of the Croatian linguistic community have come out in support of the law, while others are against it. The media have generally reacted unfavorably, and a number of writers have pointed out the many practical problems that would be caused by implementing provisions of the law, for example those relating to business communications and the names of businesses. It also appears that this proposal from the Matica hrvatska may represent some kind of competition between this organization and the IHJJ, which had earlier announced plans to make a similar proposal for a law on the Croatian language (HINA 2013a).

Conclusion: the reach of official language policies and their effectiveness

As various scholars of language policy and planning have noted, it is necessary to distinguish different domains in which language policies may apply (see, for example, Spolsky 2004: 39ff.). At the national level, governments can (and typically do) have policies concerning the official status of one or more language varieties, which are then expected to be used in administration, education, and other areas of public life. Minority languages now often receive special protection by law, in accordance with international standards. A government can also successfully regulate the linguistic norms (particularly lexical norms) of its official language(s) in administrative usage, at least to some extent. By privileging certain variants over others in official documents, and by requiring government officials to use these forms, the government may also successfully influence the usage of the broader public. However, even within administrative spheres, this is seen most consistently in formal written styles rather than in spoken usage. The further one goes from the centers of power and control, the more difficult it becomes to prescribe and micromanage linguistic expression, and democratic states are naturally limited in the methods that can be used to enforce language policies. While the government may require that textbooks and other materials approved for official use in the schools adhere to specific linguistic norms, for example, it is difficult to control what actually happens in practice in all of the classrooms across the country. Even the most repressive state could not possibly monitor all everyday interactions in the workplace, school, or home to assure compliance with specific linguistic policies. Private language use is therefore essentially beyond the reach of governmental language policies, as is much public language use. Only official use, in a fairly narrow sense, can be regulated in a reasonably effective manner.

The Croatian government has not shown much enthusiasm for introducing legislation or regulations to establish and implement language policies, even in periods when more conservative/nationalist politicians have held the majority. As shown above, a number of laws support the status of Croatian as the official language by specifically mandating the use of Croatian in the media, in the educational system, or in the names of businesses and other organizations that are registered with the government. However, these laws all allow for exceptions and are not always strictly enforced. With respect to the norms of the language, even less has been done. While the various governmental

bodies typically employ language editors for publications or official documents, there is no prescribed orthographic manual or language handbook that they are obliged to use.[13] Some terms previously used in governmental administration have been replaced by forms that are felt to be 'more Croatian', and have official status by virtue of being used in legislation. Other regulations or policies may also establish standardized terminology, which is supposed to be used in official contexts (for example, the NKZ). However, there is no law that obliges government officials to use only these forms in all public contexts, and any such law would also be difficult to enforce. Calls for a comprehensive 'language law' to establish and implement more explicit language policies on the national level have been received negatively among the general public and have been repeatedly rejected by the government. Demands on the part of purists for greater regulation of 'public language' reflect a minority opinion, and represent a fundamental misunderstanding of what the government could practically achieve.

7
Institutions of Language Planning

Introduction

Various organizations, such as academic institutions or language academies, may be involved in language standardization or other language-planning processes, as discussed in Chapter 2. The literature on language planning often refers to the role of language academies, in particular, but there has been relatively little research that attempts to analyze the activities of such organizations in detail or to evaluate their effectiveness. According to Eastman (1983: 8), 'Language academies are language-planning agencies that make decisions about the direction of language policies and the form their elaboration takes in a particular context'. The earliest and most commonly cited examples of language academies are the Accademia della Crusca (founded in 1584), the Académie française (1635), and the Real Academia Española (1713), all of which have 'academy' as part of their name and have a long tradition of influence in their respective language communities. According to Joseph (1987: 111), modern language planning boards, which are found in a number of countries, function as contemporary equivalents of language academies. It is clear that a variety of institutions or organizations, with different statuses and organizational structures, may be active in language planning. The Republic of Croatia does not have a single, officially designated, national language academy for the regulation of the Croatian standard language, but there are several institutions or organizations that have aspired to fulfill some of the same functions. These are the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language, the Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics, and the Matica hrvatska. In this chapter we will analyze the roles played by these institutions in debates

over the status and norms of the Croatian language and will attempt to evaluate the degree of influence that they have exerted.

The traditional model of the 'language academy'

The classic examples of language academies have been involved with all aspects of language planning, promoting the status of their respective languages and actively engaging in their codification and elaboration. They have traditionally overseen the publication of dictionaries, orthographies, grammars, or other handbooks that are intended to be authoritative. National language academies typically have a conservative and purist orientation; for example, the Accademia della Crusca's 1612 dictionary was intended to halt the 'degeneration' of the language (Spolsky 2009: 235), and the dictionary published by the Académie française (the first edition of which appeared in 1694) systematically excluded words considered to be 'low', archaic, or regional, as well as neologisms and most technical terms (Ager 1996: 55). The official status and legal power of language academies vary. Although Thomas (1991: 11) states that the distinguishing feature of language academies versus societies or other groups is 'their institution from above', Wright (2004: 55) notes that early language academies usually started as independent literary groups, which only later received recognition or official status on the national level. Membership in traditional language academies has most often been based on literary achievement (Joseph 1987: 112), rather than any professional linguistic qualifications, but in any case these bodies are constituted as elitist, non-democratically chosen groups. New members are usually elected by the existing membership, and the terms of service may be indefinite (for example, the membership of the Académie française is limited to 40 'immortals', who are elected by the current members and are appointed for life). As a result, they tend to lose touch not only with the broader population, but even with the elite circles from which their members are drawn (Thomas 1991: 112).

The importance of language academies is often more symbolic than practical (Eastman 1983: 213). For example, a number of authors have noted the fact that while the Académie française has traditionally commanded great respect, its dictionary has enjoyed only limited success, probably due to the fact that it omits large numbers of words that the Académie has deemed unacceptable. The only grammar published by the Académie did not appear until 1932, and was almost universally condemned (Ager 1996: 55). In fact, in the case of the Académie française and other venerable language academies, the real work of

promotion, codification, and elaboration of the standard language has gradually devolved onto a number of governmental committees and agencies.[1] The Croatian institutions examined here are similar to traditional language academies in the role that they have aspired to play in the Croatian language community, but differ in a number of respects, such as their organization, membership, official status, historical importance, and longevity. Their treatment together here does not mean that we consider them to be equally significant, but a comparison of their activities is useful for a more complete understanding of Croatian language planning.

The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts

The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts is the institution with the most similarities to the classic model of a language academy, although it has a much broader scope.[2] It was founded as the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, JAZU) in Zagreb in 1866 by leading intellectuals who promoted the ideal of Yugoslav political and linguistic unity. A separate Serbian Academy was founded in 1886, but the Yugoslav Academy in Zagreb kept its original name all the way up to the declaration of Croatian independence in 1991,[3] when it was renamed the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, HAZU). The Academy began with 16 members at its founding in 1866; currently the membership is limited to 160 regular members, 100 cooperating and 160 corresponding members. New members are proposed and elected by the current regular members.[4]

The original statutes of the Academy cite 'the cultivation of the Yugoslav language and literature' as one of its primary goals (JAZU 1867: 8). Accordingly, soon after its formation, the Academy undertook the production of a massive dictionary of Croatian and Serbian, work on which continued for almost a century (*Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, 23 volumes, 1880–1976). A supplement to this dictionary (*Dopune ARj*) is listed on the HAZU website as a current project of its Division for Philological Sciences (Razred za filološke znanosti).[5] The Academy, or individual members, have published a number of other influential grammars and handbooks over the years (for example, Maretić 1899a, 1899b, 1924; Babić 1986; Katičić 1986; Babić et al. 1991). Some of these will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

From its founding until today, HAZU has used its general intellectual and cultural prestige, as well as the specialized qualifications of its

members in the area of linguistics, to shape opinions about the Croatian language from a position of authority. In the period since Croatian independence, the Academy has issued several statements focusing on the status of the Croatian language which have been published in academic journals and discussed in the Croatian media (HAZU 1996, 2005, 2007a, 2007b). Although HAZU has been less involved at the institutional level in questions regarding specific norms of the standard language since 1991, individual members have been actively engaged in efforts to influence usage; the most notable example is the orthographic manual published by the academicians Stjepan Babić, Božidar Finka, and Milan Moguš in a number of editions (see Chapter 8).

The public statements issued by HAZU illustrate some of the concerns among the members of its Division of Philological Sciences about the treatment of Croatian, and the discourse used in these texts is interesting. Two of them, 'The Croatian language – a separate Slavic language' ('Hrvatski jezik – poseban slavenski jezik', HAZU 1996) and 'The Croatian language' ('Hrvatski jezik', HAZU 2007a) are directly devoted to the question of Croatian's status as an independent language. It is significant that HAZU still felt the need to issue the second of these proclamations in 2007, 17 years after the declaration of Croatian as the official language of the Republic of Croatia. This indicates a continued sense of insecurity about Croatian linguistic identity and a perception that the Croatian language is somehow threatened. The other two statements (HAZU 2005, 2007b), which are concerned primarily with the international recognition of Croatian and are discussed from this perspective in Chapter 5, also repeat some of the same themes of HAZU (1996) and (2007a).

In these publications, HAZU asserts that Croatian is an independent Slavic language not only from a linguistic or sociolinguistic perspective, but also in terms of culture, history, and politics. The authors emphasize the idea that the Croatian literary language has existed completely independently of Serbian for hundreds of years, as demonstrated by its rich tradition of literary works, grammars, and dictionaries. The contemporary Serbian language, in contrast, is represented as having been invented in the 19th century by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, 'who raised the štokavian dialect of the Serbian village to the level of a literary language' (HAZU 1996: 162). Although they acknowledge the similar dialectal bases of Croatian and Serbian, the authors of HAZU (2005) make a telling analogy with the type of wood used to make musical instruments. They state that while a violin and a gusle may both be made out of the same maple wood, which is indistinguishable in its

chemical or physical properties, they are still very different instruments (HAZU 2005: 41, n. 2). The contrast of the violin, a symbol of western European culture, with the gusle, a simple (most often one-stringed) folk instrument, underlines their portrayal of Serbian linguistic culture as essentially rural, backward, and Byzantine as opposed to the urban, cultivated, and European character of Croatian.

HAZU (2007a), which gives the most detailed and explicit arguments to support the Academy's position on Croatian linguistic identity, defines the Croatian language as something that properly belongs to the Croatian people, stating that 'the Croatian language is used by Croats in their communities' (HAZU 2007a: 41). This formulation, which explicitly connects the language with the ethnic/national identity of its users, is reminiscent of Brozović's 'Ten theses on the Croatian Language' (Deset teza o hrvatskome jeziku), which was originally delivered at a symposium in 1971 during the mass movement for greater rights for Croatia within socialist Yugoslavia (the 'Croatian Spring') and is well known within Croatian intellectual circles.[6] The first of these ten theses states that 'the Croatian language is the language that is used by the Croatian nation and that serves the Croatian nation' (Brozović 1991 [1971]: 27). Later, the authors of the HAZU text similarly define the standard variety of Croatian as 'the common linguistic expression of all Croats' (2007a: 48). The implication that the Croatian language is defined (exclusively or at least primarily) as the language of Croats ignores ethnic minorities in Croatia who also speak this language and in some cases have been part of Croatian culture for centuries. The authors place an emphasis on the 'homogeneity' (*homogenost*) of the Croatian language community, as well as that of other South Slavic languages, which formed around the 'centripetal centers' of their respective capitals (Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Podgorica, Skopje, Sofia). This appears to be an effort to bolster their assertion that clear boundaries exist between the standard languages in the region, but of course none of these language communities is a truly homogeneous, self-contained entity.

Although the authors want to portray the linguistic boundaries in the region as being clear, stable, and long-standing, they partially undermine this view themselves. They state that:

> the border between Croatian and Serbian – which has frequently been questioned – arose along the line which from the year 395 separated the Western Roman Empire from the Eastern (the line Belgrade-Kotor, which approximately follows the river Drina), and which from the Middle Ages separated various Croatian and Bosnian

> formations on one side from Montenegrin and Serbian on the other. (HAZU 2007a: 42)

From this statement, it is already obvious that the communities immediately on either side of this border, which was created well before the South Slavs even entered the Balkans, were not exclusively Croatian or Serbian. The authors themselves go on to admit that 'due to mass migrations of the population towards the northwest, as the result of Ottoman incursions, this border in the course of time became relatively indistinct' (ibid.).

The authors of HAZU (2007a) provide a more extensive discussion of the history of the Croatian literary language than in the Academy's previous statements, but the general interpretation of the facts is the same as in the previous texts. Concerning the current standard language and its status with respect to Serbian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin, the authors are also more explicit than in the earlier two texts. They state that all of these varieties have for the most part a common neoštokavian dialect base, which means that their phonology, grammatical structure, and basic lexicon are essentially the same, and that there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility among their speakers (HAZU 2007a: 48). What is new here is that they present this in a positive light, saying that this mutual intelligibility can only be considered an advantage (49). They also mention for the first time the concept of a polycentric standard language. The authors argue that it is not possible to speak of the standard neoštokavian varieties here as variants of a single polycentric standard language since a unified neoštokavian base never existed, nor was there ever a common standard language from which the others could have later developed (HAZU 2007a: 48–9). We should note, however, that their view that a polycentric language arises *only* through the expansion (usually due to colonization) of a single established variety to new areas, which then develop their own individual features, represents a narrower definition than the ones used by other sociolinguists (see Chapter 2).

Attempts to create a common standard language for both the Serbs and Croats in the 19th and 20th centuries are interpreted by HAZU as a tactic employed by the Serbs in order to achieve political and cultural dominance:

> Croats participated in this [the creation of a common language] out of ideological and political reasons, while the Serbs accepted this after the creation of Yugoslavia, seeing a single language as yet another means for the destruction of all Croatian characteristics, and of the Croats as a people. For this reason they endeavored to achieve

> linguistic unity through the force of state, political, and military domination, but these attempts did not succeed due to the stability of these two literary languages and due to strong cultural and political resistance from the Croatian side. (HAZU 1996: 163)

Consequently, the authors insist that a single Serbo-Croatian language never existed. Due to the separate historical development of the two languages, Croatian:

> on all linguistic levels is different from Serbian, so that it was never possible, nor is it today possible to speak and write in the Serbo-Croatian (Croato-Serbian) language, because as a concrete language it never existed, nor does it exist today; rather, texts are realized either as Croatian or as Serbian. (HAZU 1996: 163)

It is not entirely clear what HAZU intended to achieve through the publication of these documents. According to information on the *Hrvatski jezični portal* website, the 1996 declaration was motivated by a lack of understanding and disputes about the Croatian sociolinguistic situation among some foreign Slavists after 1990.[7] This text was published in the journal *Jezik* and on a number of different websites, but it is unlikely that it would have reached many people outside of Croatian academic circles or the small group of foreign scholars who specialize in Croatian sociolinguistics. It simply asserts the position of HAZU on the status of Croatian, without providing any detailed argumentation, and thus is not particularly convincing in any case. HAZU (2007a) is both more detailed and more objective in tone than the previous two publications; one online version of this text included a bibliography of scholarly works to bolster its arguments. The intended audience is not explicitly mentioned anywhere, but this text seems to be directed both toward the community of users of the Croatian standard language and to outsiders. HAZU (2005) and (2007b) seem to be addressed more to the Croatian government and to international institutions, and make a number of specific policy recommendations (see Chapter 5).

The Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language

The Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language (Vijeće za normu hrvatskoga standardnog jezika)[8] was established on 14 April 2005 by the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports. It consisted of a

president and vice president plus 11 other members, all professional linguists, who represented HAZU, the universities, and other institutions with some interest in the contemporary standard language.[9] The Council was created during a period when a coalition headed by the HDZ had the majority in the Sabor (2003–2011); after the victory of a center-left coalition in 2011, the new Minister of Science, Education, and Sports, Željko Jovanović, dissolved the Council on 8 May 2012.[10]

While the members of the Council worked essentially in an individual capacity, they were also intended to represent their respective institutions, as is occasionally noted in the minutes of their meetings. Consequently, we may say that the authority of the Council derived both from the official backing of the Ministry as well as the prestige of the institutions represented within it. The tasks appointed for the Council by the Ministry included the following: to provide systematic and professional care for the Croatian standard language, to discuss current problems and open questions concerning the standard language, to promote the culture of the standard language in written and spoken communication, to care for the status and function of the Croatian standard language in the process of integration of the Republic of Croatia into the European Union, to provide solutions concerning the further standardization of the Croatian language, and to follow current linguistic issues and establish principles for the orthographic norm (MZOŠ 2005). The Council normally met several times per year. Minutes of the meetings were posted on the IHJJ website, and reports of their decisions were sent periodically to the Ministry for Science, Education, and Sports. Although the Council was relatively short-lived and its actual influence on the Croatian language community is questionable (see below, 'The impact of language planning institutions'), the minutes of its meetings provide valuable direct information about the efforts of language planners and their attitudes toward the Croatian language. We do not possess comparable information about the other institutions discussed here, so we will examine the work of the Council in considerably greater detail.

From the minutes of the first meeting we can get some sense of how the mission of the Council was envisioned. The president, Radoslav Katičić, began his address to the members by saying: 'We are beginning work of essential importance for the national culture and the entire life of the nation. As the Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language we will care for [our] great linguistic heritage and discuss questions that arise in connection with it' (13 May 2005, Vijeće za

normu 2013: 62). Katičić states that the standard language has already been appropriately developed and functions well, so that it is not the task of the Council to standardize the Croatian language. However, like every other standard language, Croatian must constantly adapt to new circumstances and the needs of its users, which leads to new questions and dilemmas. Consequently, he says, there is a need for a professional body that will follow these issues, make judgments, and provide guidance. Katičić states that there are no significant open questions about the Croatian standard language, but that there are still some controversies surrounding it which 'disturb' the public. He attributes this to the fact that the relationship of the Croatian language community toward the standard language is 'deeply disordered' (*duboko poremećen*), and that the language community lacks 'a well-balanced linguistic awareness and self-confidence' (*Nedostaje joj uravnotežene jezične svijesti i samosvijesti;* Vijeće za normu 2013: 62). This idea of a 'disordered relationship' toward the standard language recurs several times in the minutes of later meetings. The president or other members of the Council are also quoted as saying that Croatian linguistic culture is in a 'diseased state' (*bolesno stanje*) (18 May 2006, Vijeće za normu 2013: 92); that Croats are currently living in a critical period with respect to the standard language, which is threatened by the number of foreign borrowings (21 December 2006, Vijeće za normu 2013: 104–7; 22 March 2007, Vijeće za normu 2013: 107–10); that there is less care for the standard language now than in the past (31 May 2007, Vijeće za normu 2013: 113), and so on. In view of these perceived problems, the Council also envisioned an educational mission for itself. In the minutes of the first meeting Katičić tasks the Council with promoting a better understanding of the standard language among the educated public, and in the second meeting he calls for a 'spiritual reversal' in the relationship toward the linguistic norm in educated society, a reversal in educational policy and especially in instruction in the Croatian language and literature (23 June 2005, Vijeće za normu 2013: 67). Like traditional language academies, then, the Council was concerned with a perceived decline in the standard language and intended to fight against what it viewed as a lack of a proper understanding of the language and concern for its norms.

It is possible to identify several main themes of the discussions of the Council in the course of their meetings. One of these is the history of the standard language and its relationship to the dialects, which reflects a concern with the status of Croatian. As in the declarations by HAZU discussed above, the Council emphasizes the continuity of the Croatian written tradition and the existence of a separate and distinct

Croatian language over many centuries. Necessarily connected with this, since earlier Croatian literature was written in all three dialects, is their insistence on the close interrelationship of these dialects and the connection of all three with the literary or standard language. Although it is not clear what evidence exists for the assertions that the Croatian language community has a 'disordered relationship' toward its standard language, in several places this problem is attributed to Croatian speakers' lack of knowledge of their own rich linguistic tradition (primarily before the end of the 19th century) and their failure to properly understand the role that this tradition should play in determining the norms of contemporary usage. For this, the blame is placed on those who attempted to create and enforce a common standard language, based narrowly on neoštokavian dialect features, for both the Croats and Serbs in the 19th and 20th centuries.

This particular concern may explain why the Council devoted one of its meetings to a discussion of archaic plural case endings, which would otherwise seem to be entirely outside its purview since the members clearly had no idea of attempting to change the grammatical structure of the existing standard in this respect. Although the current grammatical norms have been in place since the late 19th century, the members of the Council concluded that:

> archaic plural case forms are relevant for Croatian linguistic consciousness and Croatian linguistic culture, they should be treated in language handbooks and especially in more comprehensive grammars, and should be included in an appropriate manner in the teaching of the Croatian language. […] This requirement should be taken into account when reviewing grammars and grammar handbooks. (18 May 2006, Vijeće za normu 2013: 93)

This appears to be a purely symbolic step, intended to promote a greater consciousness of the continuity of the Croatian written tradition.

Dialects and dialectal literature were mentioned in several meetings. The most extensive discussions took place in 2007, when Katičić took up the question of the dialectal basis of the Croatian standard language in his opening addresses to the members at two meetings. He argued that the standard language is not 'based' on a neoštokavian dialect (or dialects). In his view, the standard language is based on the traditional literary language, which dates back to the early Middle Ages and encompasses elements of the Church Slavic tradition as well as texts written in all three dialects. Only at the end of the 19th century was this language

consistently 'stylized' (to use Katičić's term) on the basis of neoštokavian ijekavian dialect features. According to Katičić, these neoštokavian features represent only a superficial layer, while on a deeper level the standard language remains tri-dialectal (28 June 2007, Vijeće za normu 2013: 114–19; 11 October 2007, Vijeće za normu 2013: 119–23). One of the members of the Council, Ivo Pranjković, objected to this interpretation, correctly observing that, in terms of its phonology and grammatical structure, the Croatian standard language can only be described as štokavian (Vijeće za normu 2013: 117). The distinction that Katičić is trying to draw here is purely nominal, and is obviously intended to help distinguish Croatian from Serbian. It is clear from the discussion that other members of the Council also disagreed on some details, but they generally acknowledged the importance of the other dialects and the entire literary tradition for the standard language today.

The Council also considered certain other fundamental issues regarding the nature of the standard language. For example, in November 2008, they devoted a meeting to discussing the distinction between the standard language and the literary language (Vijeće za normu 2013: 130–3). Most notably, at their 23rd meeting, the Council discussed the question of whether or not Croatian exists as a separate language, distinct from Serbian (4 December 2008, Vijeće za normu 2013: 133–6). It is somewhat surprising that these discussions took place only after the Council had already been meeting for several years and had taken up numerous other minor questions. As we saw before with the statements from HAZU, the perception that the status of the Croatian language is somehow unclear or under threat has persisted long after Croatian independence, and some individuals feel a continuing need to make arguments to justify its existence.

In more practical terms, the Council made a number of recommendations on concrete normative questions and language policy issues. As discussed in Chapter 4, by the end of the 19th century, the orthography of the standard language had been codified according to phonological spelling principles, so that the spelling reflected the actual pronunciation in most instances. After 1991, there was some discussion of adopting a morphophonologically based spelling system, which was portrayed by some as representing the 'traditional' Croatian orthography.[11] However, such a drastic change in orthography would entail high social and economic costs, and for many people the idea is tainted by association with the korienski pravopis imposed by the NDH during World War II (see Chapter 4). Consequently, a wholesale revision of the orthography along these lines was never seriously considered in the

1990s. At the Council's fifth meeting (6 October 2005, Vijeće za normu 2013: 71–2), Katičić spoke about the basis of the Croatian spelling system, noting that it is incorrect to describe the morphophonological spelling system as the only one that is authentically 'Croatian', since both phonological and morphophonological principles were applied, with no real consistency, in Croatian texts before the 19th century. He asserts that the phonological principle is better suited to Croatian, but without providing any justification for this, and concludes that there is no rational reason to change the tradition that has been in place since the end of the 19th century.

Nonetheless, in several subsequent meetings, the Council recommended departures in the spelling of certain types of forms from practices that had become well established in the 20th century. In nouns of the type *mladac* 'green lad, whippersnapper', *dodatak* 'addition', the loss of the suffix vowel and other morphophonological changes that occur in different grammatical forms, combined with the automatic processes of voicing assimilation and the reduction of consonant clusters, result in spellings that are sometimes difficult to relate to the base form; for example, G.SG *mlaca*, V.SG *mlače*, N.PL *dodaci*. This issue was discussed at the sixth meeting of the Council (2 November 2005, Vijeće za normu 2013: 72–4). Katičić argues that retaining *t, d* before the affricates *c* [ts], *č* [tʃ] in nouns with the suffixes *-(a)c, -(a)k* (for example, *mladca, mladče, dodatci*) would be preferable for a number of reasons. According to him, the established spellings are 'awkward', since the relationship of other forms to the nominative singular is not transparent; the recommended spellings would allow one to distinguish certain homonyms when writing (for example, N.PL *mladci* versus *mlatci* 'threshers'); and they would more accurately reflect what Katičić claims is a slight difference in pronunciation in forms with an underlying *-tc-* cluster as opposed to those with just *-c-* (for example, *dodatci* versus *junaci*, plural of *junak* 'hero'; in the first the affricate is pronounced slightly longer, according to Katičić). The accuracy of the latter claim is unclear,[12] and the pairs of homonyms cited by Katičić involve forms that are very rarely used today.[13] Other forms like *dodaci,* on the other hand, are commonly used and belong to a group of closely related lexemes that are also of relatively high frequency (*dodati, dodatan*, and so on), so they are unlikely to pose any significant problems for speakers of Croatian. One gets the impression that Katičić and other like-minded linguists are searching for any possible shred of evidence to help justify their preferred spelling rule. The fact that they are forced to cite such uncommon forms as examples of homonyms that could be distinguished by adopting this

spelling convention indicates that few such pairs actually exist, and the practical value of this change would be extremely limited.

Although the proposed spellings for these types of forms are exactly the same as those prescribed in the korienski pravopis imposed by the NDH (see Klaić 1942: 34–5), Katičić asserts that this recommended change has no connection with the latter, describing this spelling as being 'more consistently phonological' rather than morphophonological (Vijeće za normu 2013: 73). This is clearly not true for spellings like *mladca* (pronounced *mlaca* [mlatsa]). Furthermore, because the proposed rule concerns only the spelling of *t, d* before affricates, it would introduce inconsistencies in forms like *predak* 'ancestor'; according to Babić et al. (2003), voicing assimilation is spelled in the singular case forms (for example, G.SG *pretka*) but not in the plural forms where the final *k* changes to the affricate *c* (for example, N.PL *predci*). In the discussion that followed Katičić's statement, there was some disagreement among the members of the Council, and several of them recommended allowing a number of exceptions to the rule. However, the Council eventually adopted Katičić's recommendation by a majority decision, allowing a single exception for the word *otac* 'father', G.SG *oca,* and so on (Vijeće za normu 2013: 74).[14]

Phonological alternations are the source of another spelling question that may cause problems for users of the language. The reflex of the Common Slavic vowel ***ě*** is normally pronounced as a diphthong [ie], for which the prescribed spelling is *ije* when long and *je* when short.[15] Quantitative alternations result in different spellings for the same root (for example, *riječ* 'word' versus *rječnik* 'dictionary'), and there is an additional complication in that speakers of many ijekavian dialects do not pronounce the on-glide in short syllables after a consonant + *r* cluster (traditionally referred to as a 'covered *r*'). The official orthography throughout most of the 20th century prescribed the spelling *e* after a covered *r* (for example, *grijeh* 'sin' versus *grešnik* 'sinner') with only a couple of exceptions.[16] These changes in spelling are particularly difficult to learn for those who are not native speakers of ijekavian dialects (in other words, for the majority of Croats), and there has historically been a significant degree of variation in written usage.

At the tenth meeting of the Council (20 April 2006, Vijeće za normu 2013: 86–91), Katičić described the spelling *Crje* as being characteristic for many words in the Croatian literary tradition. He recommended that the standard orthography allow variation in spelling, *Crje* or *Cre*, whenever a long ~ short alternation occurs in different forms based on the same root (for example, *grješnik* or *grešnik*), but only *Cre* in roots

where the reflex of **ě* is always short (for example, *sreća* 'happiness, luck', and not **srjeća*). However, he also asserts that there are many common roots with alternations in which the spelling *Crje* would not be acceptable to most people (for example, *vrijeme* 'time', G.SG *vremena*, and not *vrjemena*), so the norm should give preference to the forms without *j* in these cases, while still allowing both spellings (Vijeće za normu 2013: 88). His recommendation seems unnecessarily complicated, and it is clear from the minutes that there was a divergence of opinions on this issue among other members of the Council. While Katičić's recommendation was apparently interpreted as reflecting the Council's decision (see Ham 2009: 28), this is somewhat ambiguous from the minutes themselves:

> At the end the president summarized the conclusions of the meeting. He said that a far-reaching consensus had been reached about his opening speech, from which only Professor Ivo Pranjković totally excluded himself.[17] Some of the members present expressed reservations, to a greater or lesser degree. In response to his explicit question none of the members of the Council expressed disagreement. (Vijeće za normu 2013: 91)

The Council members also discussed at some length whether certain types of forms should be written as one word or two, and agreed only on some general principles that should be used for working out consistent orthographic decisions, without making specific recommendations themselves (26 January 2006, Vijeće za normu 2013: 78–80; 16 March 2006, Vijeće za normu 2013: 80–6). However, at a previous meeting (15 December 2005, Vijeće za normu 2013: 74–7), they considered separately the spelling of the negated form of 'want', which also functions as a future auxiliary verb. According to Katičić, this was traditionally written as two separate words (1SG *ne ću*, 2SG *ne ćeš*, …), and only between 1929 and 1940 and starting again after 1960 was the spelling as a single word prescribed (*neću, nećeš,* …). Arguments can be made for either practice, since the negative particle *ne* is written separately from all other verbs, except for the present tense of 'to be' (*nisam, nisi*, …) and 'to have' (*nemam, nemaš*, …). On the other hand, just like the negated forms of the latter two verbs, the forms *neću*, *nećeš*, and so on also reflect historical contractions (from *ne hoću*, *ne hoćeš*). Katičić emphasized that the joined spelling was imposed on the Croats from the time of the Novi Sad pravopis in 1960 by means of 'violence and [political] pressure' (Vijeće za normu 2013: 75). While he

acknowledges that this spelling has since become a habit that would be difficult to break, he argues that the separate spelling would make the orthography 'much more coherent and consistent', and concludes that the benefit is much greater than the price that would have to be paid for this change (Vijeće za normu 2013: 75). Pranjković objected to this, saying that 'if the introduction of the joined spelling *neću* was the result of violent measures in 1960, I'm not for correcting one act of violence with another one', and rightly stated that it is necessary to take into account the habits that have been formed over the preceding 45 years. He also noted that the writers of handbooks had been forcing the spelling *ne ću* on the public over the previous ten years, but that this had been rejected by the majority of people (Vijeće za normu 2013: 76). After further discussion, the Council voted 7 in favor of the separate spelling and 2 against, with 2 abstentions (Vijeće za normu 2013: 77).

From these decisions on orthographic matters, one can discern a general pattern in the operation of the Council. The meetings were often taken up with the discussion of specific minor issues related to changes in already-established norms, and even trivial differences such as spelling *ne ću* instead of *neću* are vested with great symbolic importance. The president and his backers on the Council would attempt to marshal linguistic evidence to support his recommendations, and even though their arguments were usually less than convincing, the Council would still eventually adopt these proposals. In all cases, the proposals represented a change from the standard spellings that were used during the Yugoslav period, and they were usually portrayed as representing traditional Croatian spelling practices that were unjustly eliminated as part of the policy to promote a unified Serbo-Croatian language. They are also all changes that have been promoted in various language handbooks since 1990 (notably in various editions of the Babić-Finka-Moguš pravopis and in the school orthography by Babić, Ham, and Moguš (2005 and later editions); see Chapter 8), but have yet to gain any broad acceptance.

The Council clearly viewed itself as the prime scholarly authority and guardian of Croatian linguistic values, as can be seen in the minutes in certain disparaging remarks about others who resist their preferred orthographic decisions. In reference to the fact that most of the media continue to use the spelling *neću* and not *ne ću*, the vice president of the Council, Mislav Ježić, dismissed this as the result of language policy and editorial practices based on this policy, apparently completely oblivious of the fact that the Council was itself engaged in language policy and

planning (15 December 2005, Vijeće za normu 2013: 75). In discussing the recommended *Crje* spellings, Katičić stated that they had been accepted by a portion of the public:

> while another portion, more strongly organized and more vocal, but not necessarily larger, has sharply rejected this and from influential educational and editorial positions is attempting to block it. This principled and frontal resistance represents, however, the acceptance, confirmation and approval of the long-term pressure applied to the norms of the Croatian linguistic standard. (Vijeće za normu 2013: 87)

Furthermore, in discussing the admission of the variant spellings *Cre/Crje*, he states:

> Each person must learn to choose for himself whether to write in a less ordinary way, but with a deeper relationship towards the language and more in keeping with the Croatian orthographic tradition, however strongly this had been obscured, or in the way that is more ordinary for him, but also more superficial and careless towards the Croatian tradition. (Vijeće za normu 2013: 88)

Katičić and some other members of the Council apparently feel that no one else is qualified to make decisions about the standard language, and that any who disagree with the Council's decisions do not truly understand the language or care for its traditions.[18]

In addition to orthographic questions, the Council also addressed the issue of foreign borrowings. The use of native Croatian words rather than foreign borrowings has often been portrayed as a cultural value that is important for Croatian linguistic identity, and while Katičić also warns against the dangers of aggressive purism, he appeals to this idea in his address on this topic:

> The use of Croatian words […] represents a greater value than the mechanical adoption of foreign means of expression. Thus, a Croatian word is more solemn and formal (*glazba* 'music', *mirovina* 'pension', *redarstvenik* 'police officer'), while a borrowing is more relaxed and less demanding (*muzika, penzija, policajac*). This dimension of purism is built into the very foundations of Croatian linguistic sensibility. (21 December 2006, Vijeće za normu 2013: 104)

As a further justification for the need to create native Croatian terms for new concepts, Katičić suggests that this somehow leads to a deeper understanding of these concepts:

> Many will say that foreign words that are already known, especially those that have become more established, are more easily understood than their Croatian equivalents. But such words are often understood too easily, and this type of understanding remains completely superficial. When a Croatian equivalent is also used, the temptation of superficiality is significantly less. (Vijeće za normu 2013: 105)[19]

Although there is no evidence to support such an assertion, none of the members of the Council apart from Pranjković are on record as disagreeing with this. This portion of the minutes concludes with a statement that the Council unanimously approved the president's speech in its entirety (Vijeće za normu 2013: 106). A particular focus of concern is the growing number of English borrowings in Croatian, which according to Katičić are being adopted in an ad hoc manner in both speech and writing. These are contrasted with words that have become well established in the standard language, primarily those of Latin, Greek, and Church Slavic origin. Several members of the Council expressed concerns about the lack of Croatian terminology needed for various fields, and the Council decided to send a letter to the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports asking it to address this problem (Vijeće za normu 2013: 106).

This topic was continued at the next meeting of the Council, where the development of appropriate Croatian technical terminology was described as the obligation of scholars in every field, and a recommendation was passed that editorial boards should be obliged to require Croatian abstracts, including Croatian equivalents of all key technical terms, for any scholarly articles published in a foreign language (22 March 2007, Vijeće za normu 2013: 107–10). At the following meeting, the members discussed principles to be used in the development of technical terminology. Katičić again expressed the opinion that it is not sufficient simply to borrow words from other languages, since this results in a superficial understanding. The members were given an outline of fundamental terminological principles, prepared by Milica Mihaljević and Dunja Brozović Rončević of the IHJJ, to be discussed at the following meeting (31 May 2007, Vijeće za normu 2013: 110–14). At that meeting, these principles were adopted unanimously (28 June 2007, Vijeće za normu 2013: 119), but the document itself is not included in the minutes of either of these

sessions. Since the minutes state that the list of principles was prepared by Mihaljević and Brozović Rončević, they are most likely the same or very similar to principles included in the information about the Institute's project to develop Croatian scientific terminology (Hrvatsko strukovno nazivlje, or STRUNA), which was directed at that time by Mihaljević. The STRUNA brochure (Nacionalna zaklada za znanost and IHJJ, n.d.) includes a section titled 'Terminological principles', which stipulates that a native word takes precedence over foreign words, and that words of Latin and Greek origin take precedence over words borrowed from other languages. These choices reflect an explicitly puristic attitude.[20]

The Council also saw its role in promoting the publication of grammars, dictionaries, and handbooks that would follow its recommendations. According to the president, 'the work of the Council will be completed only if it encourages the writing and publication of fundamental language handbooks (an orthography, grammar, dictionary, usage guide, and possibly other handbooks), which will establish a new period for the Croatian standard language' (19 October 2006, Vijeće za normu 2013: 103). Notice that Katičić uses the singular here, which indicates that he had in mind the publication of *one* work of each type, which would be considered normative. In the following discussion, Dunja Brozović Rončević also refers to a future orthographic manual that would be 'obligatory' (ibid.). At their 22nd session, the Council approved a proposal to allow published handbooks to carry the designation that they are 'in accordance with the decisions of the Council' (20 November 2008, Vijeće za normu 2013: 133), and the Croatian orthographic manual by Babić and Moguš published in 2010 features this statement immediately below the title on its front cover (see Chapter 8).

Because of its official status, some members of the academic community and the general public also considered the Council to be the sole authority on normative issues during the time of its existence. In an article discussing the *Hrvatski školski pravopis* (*Croatian school orthography),* Ham, who is one of the authors of this manual, states that the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports established the Council to be the 'highest linguistic body' (*krovno jezikoslovno tijelo*) for the discussion of questions related to the standard language (Ham 2009: 24–5), although no such phrase is used anywhere in the document announcing the formation of the Council. After providing a list of the members, whom she described as coming from all institutions of higher education and Croatian cultural and scientific institutions, she goes on to say: 'The fact that the whole of Croatia is represented on the Council must always be emphasized, since the general lines of Croatian linguistic thought provide

the essential framework for the Council. Precisely because of this framework, the Council represents a linguistic arbiter and obliges us to accept its decisions' (Ham 2009: 25). Since the *Croatian school orthography* (Babić, Ham, and Moguš 2008, 2nd edn) is in accordance with the orthographic recommendations of the Council, Ham concluded that it had become the 'agreed-upon general Croatian orthography' (26). Similarly, in an article about the Babić-Moguš (2010) pravopis, the linguist Mario Grčević criticized the Matica hrvatska for ignoring the work of the Council in the preparation of its own orthographic manual (Badurina, Marković, and Mićanović 2007) and states that 'it is intolerable that standardization be implemented while bypassing the Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language and its decisions' (HINA 2010; see also Chapter 8).

However, the idea that the Council was broadly representative of the Croatian linguistic profession as a whole or was recognized by the majority of linguists as an authoritative body is misleading. Although the individual members of the Council were appointed to represent various institutions, to the best of our knowledge they were not nominated or elected by the rank-and-file members of these institutions, and there is nothing in the minutes of the meetings to suggest that the Council members consulted with their 'constituencies'. Instead, they seem to be giving only their individual opinions on the matters on the Council's agenda. The minutes paint a picture of a body closely controlled by the president, and the director of the IHJJ also appears to have played a major role in determining the agenda of the Council. At least in its first years, only the president was supposed to communicate with the press or the public about the work of the Council, and the minutes (which were eventually made public, but initially were circulated only among the members of the Council) clearly represent an edited and sanitized account of the proceedings, in order to present a picture of greater unity among the members of the Council than actually existed.

The Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics

The Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics (Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje, or IHJJ) was formed in 1948 under the name of the Institute for Language and Literature of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, and has undergone several changes of name and structure since then. It became formally separate from the Academy in 1973, and was eventually reorganized under its current name in 1996. The primary goals defined for the IHJJ at that time were the scientific study of the Croatian language, care for the Croatian

linguistic tradition, and the preservation of Croatian linguistic identity (IHJJ 2012), which remain the main focus of the Institute. It conducts and publishes research on a wide range of linguistic topics, including historical linguistics, onomastics, etymology, dialectology, and the history of the Croatian language and historical lexicography. The IHJJ has a separate department devoted to the Croatian standard language.

Since 2012, when the current director, Željko Jozić, took charge, an additional statement has been added to this description of the Institute's activities:

> Today new tasks have been set for the Institute for the Croatian language and linguistics. The Institute should coordinate collaborative work among various state and scientific institutions in all decisions that are made in connection with the Croatian language. This task is especially important at the time of Croatia's accession to the European Union, in other words at a time of the definition of the status of the Croatian language in international communication, at a time of general globalization, which threatens even languages with a significantly larger number of speakers than Croatian. (IHJJ 2012)

This apparently represents a political decision, either at the initiative of the new director or at the governmental level, to try to make the IHJJ the central institution in Croatia with respect to all matters concerning the Croatian language.

The Institute has long functioned as a source of information for questions on proper usage. It provides a language advice service, accepting queries by phone, e-mail, or regular post. A collection of its answers to these questions is also available on a separate website maintained by the Institute (savjetnik.ihjj.hr/index.php). It has published several normative grammars and handbooks: Pavešić et al. (1971) Barić et al. (1979, 1995, and subsequent editions), and Barić et al. (1999). Most recently, the Institute has published a new orthographic manual, which has been approved for use in schools and is also available online (see Chapter 8 for further discussion). The Institute is currently working on what it describes as a normative one-volume dictionary (http://ihjj.hr/projekt/hrvatski-normativni-jednosvezacni-rjecnik/1/). The intention is to base the dictionary on the corpus that is under development at the Institute (http://riznica.ihjj.hr/), but in its current form this corpus is not truly representative of the contemporary language. No separate list of the sources used in the corpus is publicly available, but based on the results of searches, the newspaper subcorpus apparently consists

almost entirely of articles from the conservative state-owned newspaper *Vjesnik* (which ceased publication in 2012), while the literature subcorpus includes works from the 19th century with archaic vocabulary and spellings, as well as odd items such as the orthographic manual imposed by the NDH during World War II (Klaić 1942).[21]

The Matica hrvatska

Founded in 1842, the Matica hrvatska is an organization devoted to Croatian literature and culture, and is the largest publisher of books and magazines in Croatia. Although its organization and mission differ from those of the other institutions discussed above (membership is open to anyone; the status and norms of the standard language are not a primary focus; and it lacks any official status as an arbiter of usage), the Matica hrvatska has played an important role in the history of the standard language. Its literary and cultural magazine *Vijenac* provided an important venue for authors in the second half of the 19th century as the Croatian standard was developing, and it also published articles devoted to linguistic questions and advice on usage. It was revived for several shorter periods in the 20th century, and resumed regular publication again in 1993. *Vijenac* continues to address questions related to the standard language (see Chapter 10). As discussed in Chapter 4, the Matica hrvatska was involved in the joint pravopis and dictionary projects, together with the Matica srpska, which were begun after the Novi Sad Agreement of 1954.

The Matica hrvatska also took a leading position in defending the status of the Croatian language in the turbulent period beginning in the late 1960s and again in the 1990s. The Executive Committee of the Matica hrvatska appointed seven of its members to create the 'Declaration on the name and status of the Croatian language' in 1967, which was subsequently approved by other cultural organizations (see Matica hrvatska 1991: 19–20). It issued a statement in 1995 entitled 'Memorandum about the Croatian language' *('*Promemorija o hrvatskome jeziku*',* subsequently published as Matica hrvatska 1996), which is similar in tone to HAZU (1996). This document asserts that, in the 19th century, Vuk chose the neoštokavian dialect as the basis of the 'new Serbian language' and modeled it on the existing Croatian literary language and on Croatian grammars and dictionaries, 'which facilitated the expansionist aspirations of the young Serbian state' (Matica hrvatska 1996: 165). Authorities in the former Yugoslavia are said to have resorted to 'linguistic violence' to prove that Croatian and Serbian

are a single language (ibid.). The document concludes by calling on all international bodies to respect the right of the Croatian people and the Croatian state to their own language (Matica hrvatska 1996: 166).

With respect to questions regarding the norms of the Croatian standard language, it appears that the Matica hrvatska initially took a more moderate approach in the period after 1991. Usage in its journal *Vijenac* was not markedly purist compared to other publications of a more conservative bent (see Chapter 10), and the orthographic manual published by the Matica hrvatska several years ago did not depart significantly from spelling practices used throughout the 20th century (Badurina, Marković, and Mićanović 2007; see Chapter 8). However, more recently, the Matica hrvatska seems to be shifting further to the right, as can be seen in its proposal for a new 'Law on the Public Use of Croatian' (see Chapter 6).

The impact of institutions involved in language planning

When one considers the repeated statements by HAZU about the status of the Croatian language, some of them issued more than 15 years after Croatian was declared the official language of the independent Republic of Croatia, questions arise concerning their purpose and intended audience. These statements have been published only in Croatian, and in venues (for example, the journal *Jezik* and the HAZU website) that are unlikely to reach a broad audience even within Croatia. Since HAZU is considered by many to be the leading academic institution in the country, its members may feel that it is incumbent upon this institution to take an official stance on linguistic questions of broader national interest. To the extent that these declarations have been reported in the mass media (as has typically been the case), they may have had some influence on general public opinions about the standard language. However, it seems likely that the statements published by HAZU are directed primarily at the academic establishment and the government, to counter opposing scholarly opinions and to influence language policies, as well as to provide evidence to justify these policies. Although the stated policies and programs of the Croatian government since 1990 already treat Croatian as a distinct language and support the maintenance and cultivation of the standard in various ways, these declarations apparently reflect a sense that the government has not actually done enough in this area.

Like the declarations of HAZU, the decisions of the Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language probably did not have a significant direct impact on the general public, although interviews

by members of the Council with the media or published reports on their discussions may have influenced public opinion to some extent.[22] Most of their specific recommendations regarding the norms of the standard language had already been implemented in certain handbooks, but had been largely ignored by the general public, and the decisions of the Council on these questions did not demonstrably change the status quo.

As a body established and supported by the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports, the Council did presumably have some influence on areas within the purview of the Ministry. The Ministry clearly intended for the decisions of the Council to be taken into account in the creation of curricular standards and the approval process for textbooks. The first set of standards for approved textbooks published after the creation of the Council stated that unnecessary foreign words were to be avoided, and that any newly created Croatian terms should be in accordance with the recommendations of the Council (MZOŠ 2006). Croatian language textbooks that were approved for use in the schools during this period were generally in line with the orthographic recommendations of the Council and the orthographic manuals by Babić and various co-authors (see Chapter 9 for further discussion). However, it is not clear whether this was due directly to the actions of the Council, or resulted simply because like-minded individuals were involved in the creation and implementation of curricular and textbook standards. At any rate, any official influence of the Council in this area ended when the Ministry disbanded it in 2012.

As another example of the Council's influence during the period of its existence, we may cite the Ministry's announcement of a competition for projects to develop Croatian terminology shortly after the Council had requested this. The funding was ultimately awarded to the IHJJ's STRUNA initiative. As of December 2009, seven projects on different scientific disciplines had been started at various institutions of higher learning within the framework of STRUNA (Vijeće za normu 2013: 137–40, 7 December 2009). However, not all recommendations of the Council were necessarily adopted. After a discussion of the position of the Croatian language in higher education over several of its early meetings, the Council sent a proposal to the Ministry for changes to the Law on Scientific Activities and Higher Education, which would have mandated the use of Croatian as the language of instruction, except in the teaching of foreign languages, in international programs, and in classes taught by foreign instructors. In addition, any student works at institutions of higher learning or any scholarly works published

in Croatia that were written in a foreign language would have been required to have a Croatian abstract (26 January 2006, Vijeće za normu 2013: 78–80). But while changes and additions to this law were passed in 2007, they did not include these recommendations from the Council (see Hrvatski sabor 2007).

The Council apparently saw itself as a kind of guardian overseeing the publication of grammars, dictionaries and other handbooks. As mentioned above, at the conclusion of one of its meetings, the Council stated that its decision on the topic under discussion should be taken into account in the reviewing of such books for publication (18 May 2006, Vijeće za normu 2013: 93). The Council's decision to allow normative handbooks and dictionaries to advertise that they are in accordance with the recommendations of the Council was also significant. Given the linguistic situation in Croatia at the time, with several competing orthographic manuals in circulation and dictionaries that evaluated the standard status and stylistic value of many words in different ways, having this 'seal of approval' from an official organization established by the government to oversee the standard language may have had some influence over consumers of these works.

As described above, with respect to standardological issues, the IHJJ is active primarily in two arenas, one of which is linguistic advice. It offers a language advice service which individuals or organizations can contact for guidance on specific questions, and previously also provided editing services for texts. Institute researchers have also appeared in broadcasts devoted to questions of usage on the public Croatian Radio and Television network and have contributed to language advice columns in newspapers. Secondly, the Institute publishes normative handbooks and dictionaries. As a government-funded research institute, its publications are likely to be seen by many people as more authoritative than others. The IHJJ is also moving to position itself more strongly as a central arbiter and authority in matters connected with the standard language. The Institute promoted its 2013 pravopis as representing the definitive resolution of all the outstanding disputes over spelling practices. Although this was publicly described as a project created solely at the initiative of the IHJJ itself, the new pravopis was widely thought to have been ordered by the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports (see Bobanović 2013). After its completion, it was rapidly approved by the Ministry for use in schools. The IHJJ's decision to make it freely available on its website may further increase the impact of this work.

The Matica hrvatska lacks the official status of the other organizations discussed here, which are all state institutions, but its reputation

and publishing activities assure it a certain degree of influence as well. However, its direct influence on normative issues is difficult to assess. The Matica hrvatska pravopis from 2007 was widely promoted, and this first printing of 10,000 copies reportedly sold out in six months (Derk 2013); a second edition was published in 2008. However, it was not approved for use in schools until shortly before the publication of the new IHJJ pravopis.[23] The Matica hrvatska denounced the latter in a public statement, describing it as being 'significantly below the level of any of the existing orthographic handbooks' (HINA 2013b). There also seems to be some competition between the Matica hrvatska and IHJJ concerning their recent proposal for a law on the Croatian language (see Chapter 6). The Matica hrvatska hopes to secure a place of influence for itself on the new Council for the Public Use of the Croatian Language envisioned in its proposed language law. According to this proposal (Matica hrvatska 2013), the Council is to be presided over by the president of HAZU, with the president of the Matica hrvatska serving as vice president.

Conclusion

All four of the institutions discussed here have been actively involved in status or corpus planning, both before and after Croatia became an independent state, and have functioned in ways similar to traditional language academies. The codification and development of the standard language was one of the goals of the original creation of the Yugoslav (later Croatian) Academy of Sciences and Arts. Because of its age and organizational status, HAZU is also the most similar to the classical model of a language academy. On an institutional level, HAZU has been concerned primarily with questions about the status of the language in recent years, attempting to counter the idea inculcated during the Yugoslav period that Croatian and Serbian are two variants of a single language. However, individual members of HAZU have also been active in the publication of normative handbooks as well as other scholarly and popular works about the standard language. Members of HAZU also occupied prominent positions on both the Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language and in the Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics, which have devoted much attention to specific normative questions. The Council was the principal institutional voice expressing concerns about the current poor state of the language (a typical concern of traditional language academies) during the time of its existence, and it attempted to address this problem in its statements

and decisions about specific issues. Like HAZU, it was a small, elite body which spoke from a position of presumed authority. The IHJJ, as a state-funded research institution devoted to the study of the Croatian language, is in some ways the least like a language academy in the traditional sense. However, over the last two decades, its directors have actively promoted the Institute as an authority on questions related to the standard language, and it has been responsible for the publication of influential handbooks and dictionaries. The Matica hrvatska has the reputation of having defended the Croatian language under the former socialist regime (see Chapter 4), and has continued to promote the status of Croatian. Although the Matica hrvatska has generally been less concerned with promoting symbolic changes in the orthography or with linguistic purism than some of the other institutions here, in recent years it has come more into conformity with them in its language-planning activities. All four of these institutions have close connections, which is not surprising in a country the size of Croatia, and they have played similar roles in the debates over the status and norms of Croatian since 1991. However, there is also some rivalry among them for influence, and individuals affiliated with other institutions, particularly faculty members at the University of Zagreb, have also called their authority or actions into question.

8

Language Purism, Handbooks, and Differential Dictionaries

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 4, Croatian has a rich tradition of grammars and dictionaries dating back to the 16th century. The works from the earliest periods are on the whole descriptive and inclusive in their nature, but in the 19th century we begin to see a greater emphasis on the avoidance of foreign expressions or other elements deemed to be undesirable for some reason. Particularly in the final stages of standardization, at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, there begin to appear language handbooks dedicated to the promotion of 'good' or 'proper' usage. In the study of language advice in the modern standard language, it is possible to divide such works into several different periods, which are of different durations and had varying degrees of influence on the life of the language. Such periodizations are necessarily inexact, and individual authors of such works do not always conform entirely to the general trends of their times, but we believe that a division into three broad periods provides a useful framework for discussion.[1] We cannot give a detailed discussion of every individual work here, but will focus on those that we feel to be most significant or widely influential.

The first period includes the work of linguists such as Tomislav (Tomo) Maretić, Ivan Broz, Franjo Iveković, and Nikola Andrić, who were active in the late 19th-early 20th century. This is the period in which the Croatian Vukovites played a leading role, but there was also a significantly smaller group of linguists who did not believe in linguistic unification, but rather pointed to the need for the separate cultivation and standardization of the Croatian and Serbian languages in accordance with the tradition and practices of each. The tasks facing language planners in the early years were for the most part different from those

of the later periods, primarily because at this time certain fundamental points concerning the norms of the standard language had not yet been firmly established. Nevertheless, some of their linguistic advice is still relevant and applicable today.

The second period begins in the 1930s, when the reaction on the Croatian side against attempts to create a single standard language grew stronger. The clearest expression of this is found in the work of Petar Guberina and Kruno Krstić (1940). Although Guberina and Krstić exerted a significant influence on later authors, the rigid purism of the immediately following years, during the existence of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), had no lasting impact on usage; in fact, later authors have generally felt the need to distance themselves from the language advice issued during this period. Significant activity resumed after the Novi Sad declaration and lasted until the end of the 1980s. In these years, the works of Ljudevit Jonke, Slavko Pavešić, and Stjepan Babić played a major role.

The last period, which begins with the independence of the Republic of Croatia and continues to the present, was marked at the very beginning by the publication of the controversial *Differential dictionary of the Serbian and Croatian languages* (*Razlikovni rječnik srpskog i hrvatskog jezika*) by Vladimir Brodnjak in 1991. This was followed by an exceptionally large number of language handbooks, ranging from amateur works to those by professional linguists. Among the latter, two of the most prominent arbiters of usage were Stjepko Težak and Stjepan Babić, although the books they published were not language handbooks in the classic mode, but rather were collections of texts on various topics connected with the Croatian language, including but not limited to advice on specific questions of usage. In more recent years, Nives Opačić has attracted a wide audience with her columns and books on usage. In addition to these authors, a surprisingly large number of individuals provided language advice in the form of columns in daily newspapers, journals, and on Croatian Radio and Television, some of which were later collected and published in book form.

Although it is still too early to determine which usage guides in the current period will have the most lasting influence, this group is likely to include those that carried some type of institutional authority. Two such usage guides have appeared in the third period, both of which were the work of a group of authors. The first, *Govorimo hrvatski* (Dulčić 1997) was used for years in Croatian Radio and Television, and is discussed in detail in Chapter 10. The second, *Hrvatski jezični savjetnik* (Barić et al. 1999) was a project of the IHJJ.

Before continuing with our survey of the history of language advice in Croatia, we will first consider the topics of linguistic purism more generally and the concept of 'linguistic intuition' or a 'feeling for the language' as a guide to proper usage. We will also discuss the production of so-called 'differential dictionaries'.

Linguistic purism

As Joshua Fishman has noted, there do not exist today, nor apparently have there ever existed, any languages that function completely on their own, in isolation, without influences from neighboring language communities. If there are any such examples, they represent the exception rather than the rule for how language communities function in the real world. In Fishman's words:

> Languages are by nature social entities, as long as their speakers are well disposed toward each other. They interact with one another, particularly with neighboring or visiting languages, and both borrow and lend words, phrases, and even sentence patterns to one another. However, the authorities of propriety in language may consider such intrusions of 'foreign elements' or 'influences' into language X to be undesirable, doubly so in writing and triply so in serious or educated writing. (Fishman 2006: 27)

Language planners thus regularly turn towards purism, attempting either to 'defend' the language and to preserve it, or to develop it along the lines that linguists and/or the community at large think that it should follow, depending on their attitudes about the degree of elaboration that their language has already achieved. Although purism is often understood in terms of eliminating foreign elements, it can also be directed towards regional or social variants within a single language community. A good general definition of language purism is given by George Thomas:

> Purism is the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language). It may be directed at all linguistic levels but primarily the lexicon. Above all, purism is an aspect of the codification, cultivation and planning of standard languages. (Thomas 1991: 12)

The phenomenon of linguistic purism is based on the assumption, which is often widespread among the general public, that the only right and proper form of language is one that is somehow 'clean' and 'uncorrupted'. This supposed purity, as in popular understandings of human or animal genetics, can be proven primarily by means of ancestry (see Thomas 1991: 25–6). As a result, purists feel a need to establish the origins of the contemporary language as far back in the past as possible, and to minimize the results of contacts with other languages, so that its lexical stock (in particular) is as close as possible to this idealized source. In other words, the contemporary language should contain the largest possible number of words whose roots are native, or at least not noticeably 'foreign'. Language planners often make use of these widely held beliefs and strive to convince the language community that their innovations are in accordance with them: '[w]hatever is new, according to the principle of purity, must be seamless with the old and cannot be visible within it nor does it depart from it' (Fishman 2006: 25). Obviously, any attempts to fully achieve the ostensibly utopian ideal of linguistic purity would be dystopian in practice, requiring a totalitarian control over linguistic norms, and absolute 'purity' is impossible in any case.

The greatest perceived threats to the purity of a given language come from other languages that are felt to be significant enemies or competitors in a political, economic, or cultural sense. For Croatian, for a variety of reasons that have already been discussed, the greatest rival has traditionally been Serbian. The Serbian language and Serbianisms are felt to be an immeasurably bigger problem than, for example, the Slovenian language and Slovenianisms, to the extent that no one in Croatia ever speaks about 'Slovenianisms' in the Croatian language (although there are forms that could possibly be described as such),[2] while in Slovenia 'Croatianisms' or 'Serbo-Croatianisms' are a matter of concern. The Serbian language represents an identifiable and supposedly well-defined enemy against which purists can do battle, although distinguishing 'Serbian' from 'Croatian' forms is problematic, due to the close genetic relationship of varieties within the South Slavic dialect continuum. The other main competitor, for different reasons, is English, which represents an increasing cause for concern among purists. It is exceptionally prestigious and influential because of the economic and political power of English-speaking countries, which are a source of scientific and technical innovation as well as of widely popular cultural products. It also serves as a language of international communication among speakers of other languages, on different levels and in all different disciplines. Attitudes towards English in Croatia are generally similar to those in other European countries, where

linguistic authorities are concerned about 'unnecessary' or 'undesirable' English loanwords. Although internationalisms are generally accepted as necessary, particularly in higher styles as used by the educated segments of society, as well as in scientific and technical terminology, in this context it is often difficult to make practical distinctions between internationalisms (based on Latin or Greek) and Anglicisms.[3]

Because of the prominent role that purism has played in the development of the Croatian standard language and in contemporary Croatian linguistic culture, linguists in Croatia have written extensively on this topic. As a representative of the views of the Croatian linguistic establishment, we may cite Katičić's article 'On purism' (1992 [1973–1974]). According to Katičić, purism is an unavoidable topic when speaking of linguistic culture. Citing Brozović (1970), he states that every community must make a decision about purism when constructing its own standard language (Katičić 1992 [1973–1974]: 55). Katičić takes pains to distinguish between desirable and undesirable types of purism. He introduces several terminological distinctions, but unfortunately does not always define them clearly or use them consistently. Arguing that language is by its nature inherently puristic, Katičić differentiates between 'natural and spontaneous' purism, which he refers to using the borrowed term *purizam*, and *čistunstvo* (literally 'excessive or compulsive cleanliness'), which exceeds the bounds of what is 'necessary'. He goes on to explain that '*Čistunstvo* excludes, then, certain possibilities that we would otherwise have according to our linguistic capabilities, it directs us not to make use of certain expressive means that form a part of our linguistic ability because those means are considered to be disqualified for some reason' (Katičić 1992 [1973–1974]: 56–7). Obviously, this is no different from the general definition of purism. Katičić is unable to make a principled distinction here, since he has already defined *čistunstvo* as differing from 'natural' purism only in degree, and the question of what level of purism is 'necessary' or 'natural' cannot be determined in any objective manner. Furthermore, the use of terms such as 'natural' or 'spontaneous' with respect to purism is already obviously problematic, since purism reflects conscious choices made by members of a language community.

As in Thomas's definition of purism that was cited above, Katičić emphasizes that purism cannot be understood only as the exclusion of elements of foreign origin, but can be directed at any linguistic elements that do not belong to a given corpus of texts and/or specific spoken variety that is taken as a model. He refers explicitly to Karadžić's linguistic reforms, the goals of which were to eliminate the part of the

lexicon associated with educated users of the language and the previous literary tradition, which was viewed as 'artificial', in favor of the 'pure' language of the common people. Katičić rightly points out that Karadžić's reforms were therefore purist in nature, although they have not traditionally been presented in this way; in fact, he views them as representing *čistunstvo* rather than spontaneous purism (Katičić 1992 [1973–1974]: 57–9). Katičić also notes here that the rejection of neologisms and the uncritical acceptance of foreign words (which are both seen as features more typical of Serbo-Croatian language policies than of traditional Croatian usage) also represent aspects of purism. In the remainder of the article he continues to argue against excessive purism, but in addition to the term *čistunstvo* he also refers to this as 'militant purism' (*bojovni purizam*), 'dogmatic purism' (*dogmatski purizam*) or 'aggressive purism' (*borbeni purizam*), and uses some of these same adjectives in conjunction with *čistunstvo* (for example, *bojovno čistunstvo,* 1992 [1973–1974]: 59), which further clouds his proposed distinction between *purizam* and *čistunstvo*.

Given his view that a certain degree of purism is natural and is exhibited by all languages, it is not surprising that Katičić, like many other Croatian writers, describes purism as being inherent to the Croatian language itself:

> From its first beginnings long ago, the Croatian language has been characterized by a tendency to rely on its own rich potential for word-formation. The literary language of a small European nation, which (to the extent of its power) took an especially active part in the spiritual events that lapped at it from all sides and actively became involved in broader cultural entities, naturally had to shape itself in many respects according to expressive models and examples that had already been set. It was integrated into the linguistic world that existed around it. In the process, however, there was always a clear tendency not to directly adopt patterns and models from foreign languages, but rather to activate its own word-formation potential in response to them. Is that purism? Can this be called exclusive *čistunstvo* in the proper sense, as has been demonstrated here? (Katičić 1992 [1973–1974]: 60)

While Katičić acknowledges that there have been periods of excessive purism in the history of Croatian, which he condemns, he argues that the majority of the literary tradition has been directed against such extremes. He asserts that from the beginning Croatian has been

characterized by a strong sense of stylistic differentiation, according to which the more attentive and refined the stylistic level, the fewer borrowings it will contain (1992 [1973–1974]: 60–1). However, many arbiters of proper usage have not followed this path in their handbooks and language advice, but have advocated exclusively for 'native' variants, creating a negative opinion about Croatian linguistic culture among a large part of the language community. We would argue that the overemphasis on purging the language of Serbian or other foreign forms in recent years has actually destabilized the standard language rather than achieving the purists' goal of perfecting it.

According to Thomas (1991: 154), the development of purism in a given language is typically viewed in terms of shifts between different paradigms, each of which reflects a community's perception of the existence of deficiencies in their language and their assessment of the need to address them at that certain point in time. However, as with other social phenomena, it is usually not possible to assign specific dates to such transitions, since the old and new paradigms often overlap, sometimes for a significant period of time. These periods of transition can lead to fierce debates over linguistic questions, resulting in uncertainty among members of the language community about the norms of their language. This was the case in Croatia in the second half of the 19th century, when the moderate purism characterizing the reforms of the Croatian national revival was replaced by a new paradigm oriented exclusively toward the language of traditional folk poetry and rural štokavian dialects. According to this approach, foreign words that had already been adopted into the popular speech were preferred over calques or other neologisms created by intellectuals, and words of kajkavian or čakavian origin were also disqualified (see Thomas 1991: 154–7 for a more detailed discussion of this and other paradigm shifts).

The period since 1991 represents another such time of conflict between old and new paradigms of purism in Croatia. The situation here is particularly interesting, since some of the same linguists who had previously advocated a more tolerant view of the standard language oriented towards linguistic culture, which would accommodate the use of both traditional Croatian and Serbian norms within the framework of a single Serbo-Croatian language, began to advocate significantly more puristically oriented views, and represented themselves as the ones who had always promoted the independence of the Croatian language.[4] Although some Croatian linguists assert that purism has always been a significant feature of Croatian linguistic culture, as we have already mentioned, it is also true that linguistic policies of inclusion, rather

than exclusion, have also been at least equally important. This is why the recent focus on purism has proved to be so inappropriate. Croatian literary works, grammars, and dictionaries from the pre-standard period traditionally included elements from different dialectal groups (see Chapter 4). According to Dragica Malić (1973: 86, cited by Katičić 1992 [1973–1974]: 56), in the earliest period, Croatian writing with literary pretensions was characterized by a high degree of purism, while texts with a more practical purpose, including ecclesiastical writing, were much more open to foreign influences. This stylistic differentiation has continued up to the present, where specialized genres and colloquial usage contain numerous borrowings, while in 'high style' users of the language often strive to use a greater number of native forms.

Differential dictionaries

Because of the particular sociolinguistic situation surrounding the standardization of Croatian and Serbian, since the end of the 19th century, we have seen the publication of a number of so-called 'differential dictionaries' (*razlikovni rječnici*) of Croatian and Serbian, which represent a specialized type of language handbook. Lexicographical works with a similar orientation, focusing on the differences between two varieties, are of course not unknown. There are numerous dictionaries for specific regional or social varieties that mainly or exclusively list forms that differ from the respective standard variety, or historical dictionaries that focus on words (or meanings of words) that are no longer present in the contemporary language. However, differential dictionaries contrasting two standard varieties are not common, since they necessarily presuppose a high degree of similarity between the two standards; otherwise they would be no different from a standard bilingual dictionary.[5] In addition, the members of one or both language communities must feel a need for the compilation of such a dictionary, which typically arises from a perception that one of the varieties is in a disadvantaged position in relation to the other.[6] Unlike typical bilingual dictionaries, differential dictionaries do not serve primarily to build bridges between two languages and to enable communication. In the context of Croatian and Serbian, differential dictionaries have been created on both sides, but with differing goals. In a study devoted to these differential dictionaries, the linguist Mirko Peti writes:

> On the Croatian side, under conditions of strong linguistic unification and pressure from the Serbian side, the creation of such

> dictionaries was motivated by the need to highlight the existence of a separate Croatian linguistic standard, which, as a legitimate expression of the specific needs of the Croatian socio-cultural environment, differs from Serbian. In accordance with the unificationist linguistic policy in the territory of both former Yugoslavias, which attempted at all costs to make several languages into one, namely a language in which the Serbian linguistic element would be dominant, on the Serbian side the situation was the opposite. The creation of differential dictionaries was motivated by the need to eliminate existing differences and to turn them into synonyms of that single imaginary standard language, with the justification that this represented the lexical enrichment of the language. (Peti 2006: 507)

Although, historically, Croatian lexicographic works did often include different lexemes for the same concept (Ivan Belostenec's *Gazophylacium*, published in 1740, is one well-known example), the motivation for such actions was significantly different in the pre-standard period than after the language was standardized, and this changing motivation is precisely what characterizes the differential dictionaries of the 20th century. In the context of the modern sociopolitical and sociolinguistic environment, there developed a noticeable antagonism between elements seen as 'one's own' versus those perceived as 'foreign', with the latter being interpreted as 'linguistic ballast' that should be eliminated. Differences between the Croatian and Serbian languages were interpreted differently on the two sides. From the Croatian perspective, such differences were defended as the legitimate products of its literary tradition, while the Serbs tended to treat Croatian forms in one of two ways. Lexemes that were typical of traditional Croatian usage were either branded as 'regional' and excluded from the lexical norm of the common literary language, or, as already noted above, were accepted into the common language but treated as completely synonymous with the forms used in Serbia (see Peti 2006: 508–9).

Differential dictionaries have played a significant role at different points in the modern history of Croatian and Serbian. We will examine the most influential of these specialized dictionaries together with the other handbooks discussed below.

The concept of linguistic intuition, or a 'feeling for the language'

Compilers of differential dictionaries, as well as writers of other handbooks, often make reference to the concept of *jezični osjećaj* 'linguistic

intuition, feeling for the language' as a criterion for deciding which forms are 'pure' or 'proper', and therefore appropriate for the standard language, and which forms are not. When Tomislav Maretić in his review of the Serbo-Croatian/German dictionary by Svetomir Ristić and Jovan Kangrga (1928) criticized the authors for choosing to include Serbian forms that were not part of the Vukovian norm, Ristić reacted sharply, arguing that forms used in Vuk's time could not be considered the only proper ones for the contemporary language. His most frequent argument to defend his choices of lexical items, their meanings, or their phonology, morphology, or accentuation was that these forms represented the contemporary speech of Serbs in Belgrade (Peti 2006: 511). Criticizing Maretić as a self-important academician who had taken it upon himself to prescribe how ordinary people should use their own words, Ristić concluded that 'Mr. Maretić lacks an *understanding* of the Serbian language, because he lacks a *feeling* for the Serbian language' (quoted by Peti 2006: 512). Thus, Ristić sets up the concept of linguistic intuition (based on common usage) not only as the primary determinant of the norms of the standard language, but also for the differences between Serbian and Croatian. This concept, despite its imprecision and lack of objective linguistic grounding, became a dominant criterion for Croatian linguistic identity. Guberina describes it in the following terms:

> The fruitful literary activity of Croats developed the Croatian literary language to great heights, and Croats feel it to be their property. They have a developed linguistic intuition (*jezični osjećaj*) for the sounds, forms, syntax, and style used in the literary language, and this intuition (*osjećaj*) is the strongest factor in the existence and contemporary value of the language. (Guberina and Krstić 1940: 22)

This statement also reflects the perception that the Croatian standard variety is oriented more towards literary expression, as opposed to the orientation of standard Serbian towards the everyday language of the people.

The application of the concept of 'linguistic intuition' is problematic in practice, however, when it comes to language planning. While linguists and authors of language handbooks have often referred to linguistic intuition as something that is inherent to Croatian speakers, who instinctively know which forms are 'good Croatian' and which ones are not, the approach taken in these handbooks is precisely the opposite: they assume that speakers do not know which forms are correct, and

that they need the guidance of linguistic authorities. Rather than being something that springs naturally from current usage and from exposure to good literary models, 'linguistic intuition' is something that must be shaped from above.

The period from the late 19th century to the 1930s

In order to better understand the flood of language handbooks in more recent times, we will briefly examine the period in which the first standard handbooks for the modern Croatian (or Serbo-Croatian) language were written. Already in the late 19th century, language advice was being published in periodicals such as *Danica* and *Vienac* (now *Vijenac*), and a comprehensive analysis of normative recommendations and handbooks for the modern standard language up until World War I could form the topic of a separate book. We will focus on the works of three authors who we believe had the greatest influence on the standardization of the language in their own time, as well as in the years that followed: Ivan Broz, Nikola Andrić, and Tomislav (Tomo) Maretić.

Ivan Broz lived for only a short time (1852–1893), during a tumultuous period in the standardization of Croatian. As the author of a well-known orthographic manual first published in 1892, he was an individual whose linguistic recommendations were taken into account by many. Although Broz's pravopis was preceded by several others in the second half of the 19th century (including Partaš 1850 and Kušar 1889), only Broz's orthography had a significant and lasting impact on the language. His pravopis consistently implemented Karadžić and Daničić's phonological principle of spelling, but with certain well-defined exceptions. With the full support of the government, Broz's pravopis became the official orthographical handbook. It must be said that the way in which this handbook was officially instituted led to a perception that it had been imposed on the Croatian language community, but it is also true that Broz's pravopis provoked a significant amount of interest among his contemporaries, and all prominent linguists of that time wrote something about it. Many of the features that are considered to be characteristic of Croatian spelling today come directly from Broz (for example, the separate spelling of the future auxiliary following infinitives in *-ti*, such as *pisat ću* 'I will write'; see Samardžija's afterword to Broz 2000: 109–11). As Samardžija writes in this discussion of Broz's work, 'the publication of the *Hrvatski pravopis* is a landmark in Croatian orthographic practice, after which the phonological orthography first in schools, and then gradually in other spheres of the written word,

became the foundation of Croatian literacy in the modern period, with the exception of the period from 1943–45' (Broz 2000: 111).

Broz stands at the beginning of the Croatian tradition of language advice, having authored several series of short articles in the journals *Hrvatski učitelj*, *Vienac*, and *Pobratim* (collected in Broz 2000). The earlier articles are mainly polemics with Tomislav Maretić, in which Broz disagrees with Maretić's methodology and statements made in the latter's articles in *Vienac* (see Broz 2000: 112). Broz's articles in *Vienac* and *Pobratim* give brief explanations of selected problems and provide extensive examples to support his conclusions. Although he limited his data to Vuk's corpus, which he considered to be the best authority, many of his recommendations were adopted and survive in the contemporary language today (see Broz 2000: 111–15 for a more detailed discussion).

Nikola Andrić's *Branič jezika hrvatskoga* (*Defender of the Croatian language*), published in Zagreb in 1911, was quite influential in its time. This is partly due to the fact that the book was recommended for use in the schools by the government, which directed that all school libraries should acquire a copy. An official statement to this effect appears at the beginning of the book (Andrić 1911: 2). However, its influence can also be attributed to Andrić's argumentation and use of evidence to support his recommendations, which inspire the reader's confidence in his judgments. As is typical for such works, Andrić (1911: 3) in his introduction laments what he sees as a current lack of care for the language: 'Many of our authors truly neglect the fundamental rules of Croatian grammar and stylistics, beginning to gradually forget even those things that were already long ago cleaned up and established, so that no one should be allowed to ignore them'. He compares the situation in Croatia with that in Germany, where according to Andrić the people continually strive to improve their language, even though it is already refined and well regulated. Andrić sees his audience not just as the intellectual elite, but rather as including all educated members of the population, whose support he would like to obtain in the purification of everyday speech. He claims that every literate Italian, Frenchman, or German is interested in their language and that this fact attests to the superiority of their societies (1911: 9). This is obviously the idealized view of an outsider to these cultures, but it also conveys a sense of inferiority arising from the impression that other nations, particularly the more important European nations that represent the standard-bearers of European culture, are concerned about their language, while Croatians are not. Although Andrić, like Broz, cites Vuk as an important model, he

also refers to many other sources and clearly believes that the language, which he views as a 'living organism' (Andrić 1911: 6), cannot be limited to a narrow corpus of folk sources.

We will now consider a few examples of specific problems addressed by Andrić, which are representative of his methods and the linguistic situation of his time. It is interesting to note that some of these topics are still current today. One such discussion concerns the writing of the negated future auxiliary as one or two words. Andrić points out that Jagić, a giant among Croatian linguists, wrote the forms *neću, nećeš*, and so on as one word, just as he did for other contracted or otherwise irregular negated forms such as *nemoj, nemam, nisam*, while for all other verbs he wrote the negative particle separately. Andrić justifies this by referring to the accentuation of the forms in question, comparing them to combinations of prepositions with certain pronouns, which Jagić, Vuk, and Daničić (at least in his earlier writings) wrote as a single word (for example, *zânj*, *nânj*, and so on; Andrić 1911: 108–9). While it is possible to find some fault with Andrić's argumentation, and he himself writes the negated future auxiliary as two separate words in some later texts, the spelling as a single word continues to be the preferred form today.

In another instance, Andrić (1911: 20) discusses the use of the verbal form *spasiti* versus *spasti* 'to save'. Andrić cites an example in which a member of JAZU, whom he describes as an excellent writer who knows how to speak according to the rules of the literary language, used the infinitive *spasti* and first person singular present tense form *spasem* in an address to the Academy. Andrić notes that these are the only 'correct' forms of this verb according to the best grammars and dictionaries of the time, but in reports of this speech in the Zagreb press, only one newspaper quoted the speaker exactly, while all the others changed the forms in question to *spasiti* and *spasim*. Although the latter forms had been in use among Croatian Catholics for centuries, they do not appear in the dictionary by Broz and Iveković (1901), because they are not attested in Vuk's corpus. Andrić asserts that the forms *spasti, spasem* in this dictionary are so foreign to the Croatian language community that, as shown by these newspaper reports, educated Croatian speakers automatically replace them with their own forms, whether consciously or unconsciously. He goes on to say: 'And nothing is as painful as to go through the Broz-Iveković dictionary, searching for an autochthonous word of ours, which you cannot find anywhere. That is to say, these lexicographers did not have the courage to record it, because Karadžić doesn't have it' (Andrić 1911: 20). Here it can be seen that already at

the time when the foundational normative grammars and dictionaries for the Serbo-Croatian standard language were being published, the concept of a norm that would be based exclusively on Vuk's corpus was not viable, because that language would be limited and inadequate. As we have already seen above in Ristić's response to Maretić's negative review of his dictionary, on both the Croatian and Serbian sides there were a number of linguists who accepted the basic concept of a national language based on the language of the people, but who did not agree that this language should be confined to excerpts from Vuk's works. Andrić himself advocates the language of the people as the basis for the standard, but is clearly aware that the languages of the Croatian people and of the Serbian people are not the same, and that in the existing handbooks the language of the Croatian part of the population was virtually absent.

A similar example can be seen in Andrić's discussion of the forms *zrak* and *vazduh* 'air', which again shows the authority of dictionaries as models, but also Andrić's willingness to disagree with them.

> We all feel somehow unhappy that we are not allowed to express by at least some native word that which the German expresses with his beautiful *Luft*, the Frenchman with *l'air*, the Greek with *aër*, and the Roman with *aria*. We would have, to be sure, the splendid word *zrâk*, which we all know in this meaning, but what is the use when we are told that we are not permitted to employ it, because it allegedly means only *zraka* 'ray'. We have to suffer with *vazduh*, or – if we really do not want to make use of this dubious form, which in Slavo-Serbian literature is more a borrowing from Russian *vozduh* than from our *v'zduh* – then we must, like it or not, take the form *uzduh*.[7] (Andrić 1911: 37)

Andrić expresses the hope that the Academy dictionary would eventually include *zrak* in this meaning (although the publication of the volume for Z was far in the future), since the entry for *ajer* in the first volume referred the reader to *vazduh* or *zrak*, and he urges his readers to write and say *zrak* in the meaning 'air' without fear (Andrić 1911: 37–8).

Andrić sent a copy of the manuscript of his *Branič jezika hrvatskoga* to his teacher Jagić for his opinion, and Jagić answered him in a letter, which Andrić reproduces in full at the end of his introduction to the book. Jagić laments the fact that the book needed to be written at all, but welcomes it as a remedy against problems in the language, and expresses his surprise at the current state of affairs:

> How is it that now, after the Croatian language has dominated in all public institutions and organizations for half a century, at least officially, the need arises to go to battle against the monstrosities that its people inflict upon it? Where is the cause of this? Who is to blame? Are the schools really not doing their duty? (Andrić 1911: 10)

It is important to note here that Jagić, like Andrić, refers to the language as Croatian, and sees it as a direct continuation of the language used since the 1860s, that is, before the time when Vuk's norms of grammar and spelling were finally adopted in Croatia. We should also point out that Jagić warns Andrić that it would be wrong to try to eliminate international words such as *autonomija, emigrant, ideja*, and so on from the language, stating: 'The purity and originality of a language does not come from individual words, as you yourself already know, but from the proper composition of words into sentences and phrases' (Andrić 1911: 12).

Tomislav Maretić, one of the most influential Croatian linguists of his time and a prominent representative of the Vukovian line of thought, published his *Grammar and stylistics of the Croatian or Serbian literary language* (*Gramatika i stilistika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga književnog jezika*) in 1899, which codified the grammatical norm of the modern Croatian standard language in its essential respects (see Chapter 4). He explicitly describes Croatian and Serbian as a single language (see the Introduction, 1899b: 1–12). As he says in his foreword, he wrote the grammar as a guide to the 'correct contemporary literary language', to tell people 'what is good in it, and what is not' (1899b: i). As a result, Maretić states that it was necessary to take his data from works written in the best literary language, which for him was represented by the language of Vuk: 'All people who can rightly judge about this agree that Vuk Stefanović Karadžić up until today is our first writer, when it comes to correct and good language, that he is for our literary language that which Cicero was for the Latin literary language' (ibid.). In addition to works written by Vuk, Maretić also used works written by Daničić, and folk literature collected and published by Vuk (see Maretić 1899b: i–ii and 700). This strict reliance on such a narrow corpus, which was not representative of Croatian usage at that time, made many examples in the grammar seem foreign to Croatian readers, and certain elements of the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon of this work were never widely accepted in Croatia.

As a supplement to the stylistic section of this grammar, Maretić included an 'antibarbarus, i.e., a list of the most common barbarisms with an indication of how it is better to write and speak in their place' (Maretić

1899b: 688–99). He published a much more extensive guide to proper usage in 1924, the *Croatian or Serbian usage guide for all who want to speak and write our literary language well* (*Hrvatski ili srpski jezični savjetnik za sve one, koji žele dobro govoriti i pisati književnim našim jezikom*). Although the main text is written in ijekavian (or the 'southern dialect', as Maretić calls it), Maretić wrote his foreword in ekavian, stating in a footnote:

> I did this for two reasons: one is that I want this book to acquire as many friends as possible, also among those to whom the eastern dialect is more dear and more usual; the second is that I want to attest to the fact that I am no enemy of the eastern dialect, but that it is equally dear to me as the southern. (Maretić 1924: v)

Like other authors of this type of usage guide, Maretić sees the literary language as being in a 'serious crisis', a fact that he says is recognized 'by all who care for linguistic purity and correctness', both on the Serbian and Croatian sides. He describes the current state of the language as one of 'chaos and anarchy', which has resulted from the actions of those who disregard the rules of the language and think that they can write in whatever way they like (Maretić 1924: v). On the contrary, Maretić emphasizes that the ability to write well is not something that a person is born with, but rather something that must be acquired through diligent effort. He cites examples of great authors from other nations, from Greek and Roman civilization up to the present, who all strove to write 'as purely and correctly as possible' (Maretić 1924: v–vi).

Maretić clearly sees himself as an arbiter of what is correct in the language, since in the handbook he categorically states that certain words are 'good' or 'bad', or that a given form is 'unnecessary' because there is already a good equivalent in the language. He takes as his main criterion the language of the common people (*narod*, *narodni jezik*); for example:

> *dragulj, draguljar*, Edelstein, Juwelier [gemstone, jeweler]; attested first in Š. [Šulek's dictionary], who undoubtedly created both words, but badly, because the suffix -ulj is very rare; the people say dragi kamen [dear stone], and a person who sells this could be called dragokamenar. (Maretić 1924: 18–19)

> *-arna*. This suffix does not exist in the language of the people [*u narodnom jeziku*]; therefore knjižarna, ljekarna, mesarna, novčarna, pekarna are not valid. (Maretić 1924: 192)

Maretić's view of the language of the common people is not limited to purely 'folk' terminology, however. If a borrowing or a form coined by

writers or scholars has been accepted among the people, then Maretić is also inclined to approve it; for example:

> *časopis*, Zeitschrift [magazine, periodical], from Czech; in this language the word časopis is good, since for the Czechs 'čas' means 'time', thus their časopis is formed accord to German Zeitschrift […] but among us časopis in the proper sense could mean nothing other than a document that comes out from moment to moment! For our language the word ročnik, i.e. a document that comes out at specific times, would be more appropriate, but I know too well that the word časopis has already become so common that no one can force it out of the language. (Maretić 1924: 8)

> *-slovac* in compounds, such as jezikoslovac [linguist], prirodoslovac [natural scientist, naturalist], can be tolerated, since we have bogoslovac [theologian], a word that writers long ago created, and that the people also accepted. (Maretić 1924: 135)

As already mentioned in Chapter 4, Maretić advocated the elimination of kajkavian words in the interests of linguistic unity between the Croats and Serbs, and also typically recommended internationalisms over Croatian neologisms (for example, *teatar* instead of *kazalište*, *terminologija* instead of *nazivlje*). He is clearly influenced by the authority of Vuk, Daničić, and Iveković and criticizes those who think that their works cannot still serve as models for the standard language because they are outdated (Maretić 1924: v–vi). In this respect Maretić has a completely different viewpoint than Andrić or the Serbian literary historian Jovan Skerlić, whom he specifically cites here. But while Maretić is clearly biased towards forms that are common to both 'dialects', as well as towards internationalisms and other forms more typical of the 'eastern dialect', he also sometimes recommends or at least accepts forms that are seen as typically Croatian; for example:

> *jezički,* sprachlich [linguistic], e.g. jezički zakoni [linguistic laws]; neither the ARj. [Academy dictionary] nor Iv. [Iveković] has these; I think that if it is not better, then this is more common: jezični zakoni. (Maretić 1924: 39)

> *mirovina*, Pension; can be tolerated. (Maretić 1924: 55)

> *prisustvovati*, anwesend sein [to be present], from Russian присутствовать; our noun prisutnost, Anwesenheit [presence] is also formed according to the Russian noun присутствіе, and together with

> it the adjective prisutan, anwesend [present]; all of these words are superfluous, when we can say: nazočan, nazočnost, biti nazočan. (Maretić 1924: 113)

> *Slovenin, slovenski*, Slave, slavisch [Slav, Slavic]; if we look at the origin of these words, *-o-* is completely regular, and for this reason Daničić wrote this way, but apart from him there are few others who wrote like this; for the people the form *slovenski* for German slavisch was awkward, because it could also mean Slovenian; therefore the majority of writers preferred the forms Slavenin and slavenski. (Maretić 1924: 135–6)

> *spásiti* (spâsīm) erlösen [to save], a word that the people of our Western Church said and still say, while the people of the Eastern Church say: *spasti* (spasem); […] Both forms are good, just like križ beside krst, Ivan beside Jovan, and so forth. (Maretić 1924: 139)

Thus, while many words that have been promoted in recent years as the authentically Croatian forms are words that were proscribed by Maretić (such as *glede*, 1924: 23), others that have been equally strongly promoted (such as *nazočan*) or that have always been characteristic of Croatian were actually recommended by him as better. Maretić was certainly guided by štokavian purism, according to the model of Vuk and Daničić, taking into account also the origins of words, their historical attestations, and their conformity with štokavian patterns of word-formation, and the standard language that he advocates does not as a whole adequately reflect traditional Croatian patterns of usage. However, he did not single out typically Croatian forms for elimination if he did not see them as violating these principles.[8] He was also pragmatic to a certain extent, reluctantly accepting forms that he viewed as linguistically problematic, as long as they were well established in popular usage.

The period from the 1930s to the 1980s

Although the followers of Vuk were in the ascendancy in the first period, and the standard language had been codified largely according to Vuk's principles, they were unable to successfully root out differences in Croatian and Serbian usage. Maretić was specifically troubled by lexical differences between Croatian and Serbian, which he described as one of the major problems of the language in his time (1924: vi), and which was something that he clearly hoped to address with the

publication of his handbook. Other linguists were also obviously aware of this fact (see Chapter 4). Julije Benešić included an extensive list of Serbian and Croatian lexical differences (entitled 'Serbianisms and Croatianisms') in his grammar of Croatian or Serbian written for Polish speakers (1937: 233–48). In Croatia, this work is usually considered to be an important documentation of the distinct linguistic identity of Croatian with respect to Serbian, and it represents a precursor to later differential dictionaries. But as part of a work published outside of Yugoslavia, in Polish, the general public was most likely not aware of it, and it had little or no immediate impact. Benešić describes the cultural situation that led to the existence of such differences, which he says may give the impression to foreigners of representing two separate languages (1937: 248). Although this section of the grammar is to all appearances intended merely as a practical guide to help Polish readers and translators understand Serbian and Croatian texts, it was harshly criticized by the Serbian linguist Aleksandar Belić, who saw it as a threat to the unity of the Serbo-Croatian language. In an article published in *Naš jezik* in 1940, he complains that at a time when the country's two major cultural centers, Belgrade and Zagreb, had started to come closer together 'there appear people who specifically, and more and more, emphasize the differences that still divide them, but unfortunately not with the intention to smooth them over or at least to make them as few as possible, but rather to show that there is an unbridgeable gap between the two centers'.[9]

The first really detailed and linguistically well-grounded study of Croatian/Serbian linguistic differences can be found in Petar Guberina and Kruno Krstić's book *Differences between the Croatian and Serbian literary languages* (*Razlike između hrvatskoga i srpskoga književnog jezika*), which was published by the Matica hrvatska in 1940. This work is in two parts, the first being 'A linguistic discussion about the Croatian literary language' written by Guberina, and the second being the first real differential dictionary of Croatian and Serbian, compiled by both authors. In the first part, Guberina sets out to prove that Croatian and Serbian are two separate languages, using both theoretical and sociolinguistic arguments. He returns repeatedly to the idea of the existence of a distinct Croatian 'linguistic intuition' (*jezični osjećaj*) as proof of the existence of a distinct Croatian literary language, concluding that: 'If Croats did not have their own literary language, then a Croatian linguistic intuition would also not exist, then Croats would not feel that many Serbian linguistic resources are in opposition to the spirit of the Croatian language' (Guberina and Krstić 1940: 74). Guberina lists and

describes numerous differences on all linguistic levels: in phonology, morphology, syntax, stylistics, and the lexicon. He divides lexical differences into a number of different categories, including 'Croatianisms', words that 'Croats use in their literary language, and that Serbs consider to be dialectal words, or else do not know at all'. According to Guberina, '[t]hese words best illuminate the two different paths that the Croatian and Serbian literary languages have taken, and are just as important as "Serbianisms" in order to see the differences between the Serbian and Croatian literary languages' (Guberina and Krstić 1940: 60). Guberina then provides a list of some 550 such purely Croatian words (Guberina and Krstić 1940: 61–9).

The second part of the book, 'A dictionary of differences between the Serbian and Croatian literary languages' ('Rječnik razlika između srpskoga i hrvatskoga književnog jezika') is intended as a guide for proper Croatian usage (unlike Benešić's list discussed above), and was compiled with the explicit goal of eliminating undesirable forms. As the authors themselves state:

> In the compilation of this dictionary we were guided by the desire to eliminate from the Croatian literary language words that are foreign to it, which in recent years by various paths have begun to penetrate from eastern parts into our schools, offices, books, newspapers, and through them also into everyday speech. (Guberina and Krstić 1940: 77)

In identifying such 'foreign' words belonging to the Serbian linguistic sphere and providing Croatian equivalents, the authors were guided by the criterion of what they call 'Croatian linguistic practice' (*hrvatska jezična praksa*). As they explain, 'the literary language is first of all a collection of expressive habits and customs, and to preserve the purity of the literary language can mean nothing other than to preserve these habits and customs' (Guberina and Krstić 1940: 77). Guberina and Krstić are aware that this concept of 'Croatian linguistic practice' is imprecise, and that the usage of individuals may vary (1940: 79–80). As already discussed, it is not possible to find objective criteria that would allow us to draw precise boundaries between two closely related language varieties, and so they are forced to rely on intuition (*jezični osjećaj*) to some extent to determine what belongs to Croatian linguistic practice and what does not.

The dictionary includes about 4,500 entries, with Serbian forms as the headwords, followed by their recommended Croatian equivalents. This same format is used for most other differential dictionaries, since it

efficiently targets the undesirable forms that the authors believe should be replaced. Guberina and Krstić include a number of abbreviations and notes to provide additional information (for example, some forms are identified as archaic or dialectal, or as terms used in various disciplines). A significant number of entries are marked with an asterisk, indicating that the forms in question are also used to some extent in Croatian, but are felt to be more typical of Serbian and thus should be avoided. Guberina and Krstić state that they did not intend to list all lexical differences between Serbian and Croatian, but only the ones that they believe to be the most frequent, and which most often 'cause confusion in the Croatian literary language' (Guberina and Krstić 1940: 81). They also point out that they did not include certain common words that are known to have come 'from the east', and they explain their absence as follows:

> Some words, which have come to us from the Serbian side, already received the right of citizenship (*domovno pravo*) among us before 1918; they are regularly used in Croatia and they are no longer felt to be foreign by anybody. They have entered into the Croatian linguistic sphere and they do not offend the Croatian linguistic intuition (*hrvatski jezični osjećaj*). (Guberina and Krstić 1940: 81)

Guberina and Krstić emphasize that they do not intend for the dictionary to be perceived as an attack against the Serbs, but rather to be a guide for Croats to help them preserve their own linguistic identity:

> This 'Serbo-Croatian' dictionary is not any 'act of hostility' [the latter phrase is in English in the original] against the Serbs, unless someone thinks that preserving one's own language, that is to say one's cultural property, from destruction represents hostility. It would never enter our minds to claim that our Croatian word is 'more correct', 'more beautiful', 'more national' than the Serbian (although in many cases it would be possible to prove this); we only want to say for an individual word: look, this word does not belong to the practices of the Croatian literary language, and it must be replaced with a different one, a Croatian one. (Guberina and Krstić 1940: 79)

Guberina and Krstić's protestation that they would not dream of saying that Croatian words are somehow inherently better than Serbian ones is disingenuous, as the immediately following parenthetical comment makes obvious. Nevertheless, they did strive to be as objective

as possible in their judgments about what represented typical contemporary Croatian usage as opposed to typical Serbian usage. They took most of the entries in their dictionary from school textbooks published in Belgrade over the previous ten years, and when unsure about individual forms consulted other experts. Consequently, their dictionary is usually evaluated in largely positive terms by Croatian linguists today. Pranjković (1993b: 160) says that in spite of some exaggerations and inaccuracies, it is still a topical and valuable work based on solid lexicographical principles. Although it was attacked by those who promoted Serbo-Croatian linguistic unity as a typical example of Croatian linguistic nationalism, according to Pranjković it was also considered objectionable by the NDH authorities, presumably because it was insufficiently radical in its approach. Similarly, Peti concludes in his study of differential dictionaries that while modern scholarship might find more faults in Guberina and Krstić's work than were apparent at the time of its publication, it is nevertheless important not just because it was the first work of its type, but also because of its 'lasting practical value' (Peti 2006: 522).

In the years immediately following World War II, linguistic issues connected with the standard language were not at the forefront of attention, and the first significant new language handbooks began to appear only in the 1960s, following the Novi Sad Agreement. The publication of the new joint pravopis and work on the Matica hrvatska/Matica srpska project to create a comprehensive dictionary of the modern standard language led to disagreements and a new focus on standardological issues (see Chapter 4). We will examine several works from this period that we consider to be the most significant. Not all of these are usage guides in the traditional sense, but they influenced the conception of the standard language and its norms within the Croatian language community, and often dealt with questions that are still relevant today. These works are also important for illustrating how the norms of cultivated usage have changed from the second half of the 20th century to the present.

Ljudevit Jonke is celebrated in Croatia for his efforts to defend the autonomy of the Croatian standard language (or the western variant of the Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian language, according to the official terminology of the time), although his relationship to the events of the 1960s and 1970s is complicated. Jonke was appointed as a lecturer for the contemporary Croatian literary language in the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Zagreb in 1949. He became a full member of JAZU in 1963 and was the director of the Academy's Institute for

Language from 1965–1971 (Samardžija 1990: 8–9). Jonke was one of the signatories of the Novi Sad Agreement and was involved in the production of the full version of the Novi Sad pravopis, as well as being a co-author of the school edition. At the time, he was convinced of the value of the joint pravopis, and defended it before the Croatian public (see Samardžija 1990: 115). Jonke was also one of the editors of the joint dictionary project, which he defended against some of the criticisms that were directed at the first two volumes when they appeared, although he agreed that a different approach should be taken in the future volumes to avoid unitaristic excesses (Samardžija 1990: 117). He was not a member of the committee that drafted the 'Declaration on the Name and Status of the Croatian Literary Language', but in its aftermath he was among those who were accused of Croatian nationalism and was excluded from the party (the League of Communists of Yugoslavia) as a result. He became further disillusioned by the intolerant attitude on the Serbian side toward the acceptance of Croatian elements in the standard language and withdrew his signature from the Novi Sad Agreement in 1971, because of the 'pressure on the Croatian literary language, because of the pressure on Croatian linguists who have defended the natural rights of the Croatian literary language' (cited by Samardžija 1990: 122). He retired from the university in 1973, and from that time on he worked on the completion of the Academy Dictionary (*Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*).

Jonke wrote a column 'Today's language' for the Zagreb weekly *Telegram* (the same periodical that published the 'Declaration on the Name and Status of the Croatian Literary Language' in 1967). The column ran from September 1961 to August 1965, and comprised about 200 articles; an additional 20 or so articles by Jonke were published outside of this rubric. The majority of the articles from *Telegram*, together with articles that had appeared in other venues, were published with some revisions in Jonke (1964 [2nd edn 1965], 1971a, 1971b). A new edited collection of the *Telegram* articles appeared in 2005.[10] Jonke's texts often deal with fundamental issues concerning the standard language and its history, in addition to specific questions of usage, so these collections are much broader than typical handbooks.

Jonke developed a conception of the standard language that became the mainstream view in Croatia throughout this period, carving out a space for maintaining traditional Croatian practices within the confines of the official definition of the language as the western variant of a single Serbo-Croatian standard language. He emphasized the Prague School concepts of elastic stability and the differentiation of functional styles.

According to Jonke, Vuk's 19th-century principle 'Write in the way that the people speak' was not suitable for a modern standard language; he argued for a clear differentiation between the language of the common folk and the literary language, which should be based on the principle 'Write in the way that good authors write' (Jonke 2005: 30–1).

Jonke's language advice focuses primarily on phonological or orthographical questions and grammatical topics. He treats lexical issues in only a small number of texts. In particular, he discusses foreign borrowings in 'The relationship towards foreign words' ('Odnos prema stranim riječima', Jonke 2005: 38–9) and 'Let us not use unnecessary foreign words' ('Ne upotrebljavajmo nepotrebnih tuđih riječi', Jonke 2005: 39–41). In the first of these articles, he argues for a middle path, avoiding extreme purism while at the same time guarding against overwhelming influxes of foreign words, which sometimes occur due to social and political conditions. Jonke asserts that either a native or foreign lexeme can be considered the neutral standard term, depending on the circumstances, and that borrowing is often justified and can even be considered indicative of the degree of cultivation of a standard language:

> One could even say that such borrowings are more frequent when a language has a stronger literary tradition, and when it reflects a civilized, cultivated reality. It may then not be the result of some kind of capriciousness or slave-like mentality, but rather of cooperation among peoples in the area of civilization from ancient times up until the present. Just as there is no cultured nation with a completely self-made civilization, there is no cultured language without foreign influences, because language inseparably accompanies the development of civilization. So even the oldest and purest among them, for example Sanskrit or Classical Greek, likewise have some borrowings. (Jonke 2005: 39)

Jonke emphasizes that modern science and technology have led to the introduction of foreign words into all contemporary languages, and he says that '[i]t is neither possible nor necessary – for the sake of easier international cooperation – to translate all such foreign words, but at the same time a concern about the nature and spirit of our language must also always be present' (Jonke 2005: 39).

In the second of these articles, Jonke points out that the greater or lesser use of foreign words depends first of all on the nature of the text in question and the existence of different functional styles

(Jonke 2005: 39). The entire discussion is characterized by Jonke's tolerant attitude and the concept of the elastic stability of the standard language. He points out that there are numerous borrowings from a range of different languages that have been completely domesticated, and that are felt to be a normal component of the literary language. However, he cites Maretić's directive to avoid 'unnecessary' foreign words, and cites a number of examples that he considers to fall into this category (for example, *ćuprija* instead of *most* 'bridge'), although he says that such words could still be used for special effect, especially in literary texts. He also singles out a number of 'completely unnecessary' borrowings from Russian (for example *podozrivost* instead of *sumnjičavost* 'suspiciousness'), which are difficult for speakers to recognize as foreign, since they come from another Slavic language.

Finally, as an illustration of the cultivated style of writing of this time, we may cite a sentence from Jonke's discussion of the decisions of the Orthographical Commission regarding the unification of Serbian and Croatian linguistic terminology.

> U dilemi između *tačke* i *točke* Pravopisna se komisija opredijelila za riječ *tačka* jer je ona u etimološkoj vezi s našim hrvatskim i srpskim glagolom *taknuti* a kao *točka* pozajmili smo je iz ruskog u 2. polovini 19. stoljeća.
>
> [In the dilemma between *tačka* and *točka* [period], the Orthographical Commission decided in favor of the word *tačka* since it is connected etymologically with our Croatian and Serbian verb *taknuti* [to touch], and as *točka* we borrowed it from Russian in the second half of the 19th century.] (Jonke 2005: 37)

Jonke argues in favor of *tačka*, since it is consistent with the historical development of Croatian phonology. He notes that Bogoslav Šulek, who is responsible for much of Croatian terminology, advocated the use of *tačka* in 1874, and that the poet Antun Gustav Matoš also argued against the form *točka* in 1907. In contrast to Jonke's time, the form *tačka* is now considered completely unacceptable in Croatian, as are other forms that Jonke clearly considered to be neutral, standard words (*opredijeliti* instead of *odlučiti* 'to decide', *pozajmiti* instead of *posuditi* 'to borrow', underlined in the quotation above). Purists would also argue against the use of the borrowing *dilema* instead of the native *dvojba*; other similar examples can be found in this article and in the rest of Jonke's writings.

The linguist Stjepan Babić is the author of numerous handbooks and articles dealing with normative questions, but we will focus here on his lexicon of linguistic terminology titled simply *Language* (*Jezik*), published in the series *Školski leksikon* and intended for use in the schools. It first appeared in 1963, followed by five more editions (our discussion is based on the third edition from 1967). Although this is also not a general usage guide in the classic sense, it was treated for years as such in the area of orthographic and grammatical terminology, not only in the school system but also among the broader public. It is relevant for our purposes given current debates over some of this terminology, as well as for its explanations concerning the standard language in general.

In connection with the latter, it is interesting to note that the lexicon includes multiple entries concerning the language itself: not only 'literary language', but also 'the literary language among the Serbs', 'the literary language among the Croats', as well as 'the Serbo-Croatian language' and 'the Croato-Serbian language'. Under the entry for 'the Croato-Serbian (Serbo-Croatian)' language, Babić differentiates between the language spoken by the people and the literary language. He especially emphasizes that a common type of colloquial language has not developed, and that each major city has its own type, but these spoken varieties are all based on a single common language (Babić 1967: 85–6). Under the entry for 'the literary language among the Croats', we find a relatively detailed description of the historical development of the language. Although Babić criticizes Maretić's grammar and especially the dictionary by Broz and Iveković (1901) for its almost exclusive reliance on Vuk and Daničić's works, which meant that it omitted many common Croatian words, he describes them both as solid scholarly works and concludes: 'The theoretical and practical search for the best grammatical and orthographic form of the Croatian literary language was fulfilled by the works of the Croatian Vukovites' (Babić 1967: 131–2).

Although Babić included a number of native grammatical terms alongside their international equivalents, he was guided by general Croatian usage at the time, which in most instances favored the internationalisms. Consequently, the lexicon directs readers from *podmet* to the entry for *subjekat* 'subject', from *sklanjanje* to *deklinacija* 'declension'. However, if general usage favored the native term, he indicates this as the preferred variant (for example, the entry for *plural* refers the reader to *množina* 'plural'). For other concepts, only the international term is included, and not native forms that have been promoted in the Croatian school system in recent years. For example, the lexicon includes only *sintaksa*, and not *skladnja* 'syntax'; Babić also uses only

lice 'person', *lični/personalni* 'personal' and not *osoba, osobni* as in more recent works (see Chapter 10). As expected, Babić followed the Novi Sad decisions with respect to orthographical terms. Therefore, we may say that although this work is often portrayed in the history of Croatian linguistics as being subversive with respect to the official language policy of the SFRY at the time, as can be seen from the preceding discussion, Babić actually respected this policy in his lexicon, diverging from it only in certain details.

In this period the most important usage guide in the traditional mold is certainly the *Language handbook with a grammar* (*Jezični savjetnik s gramatikom*, ed. Pavešić), written by scholars in the Institut za jezik JAZU and published in 1971 by the Matica hrvatska. First of all, we should point out that the title does not refer to the name of the language at all, which was almost certainly a concession to the political realities of the time. In the foreword, the authors explain that JAZU decided after World War II that all of its publications should adhere to the norms of Maretić's grammar and Boranić's pravopis. The specialists entrusted with copy-editing these publications, in the course of their work and in discussions with authors and editors, collected data about aspects of these norms that were felt to be foreign, awkward, or outdated by contemporary users of the language. They also made reference to usage guides, language advice in newspapers, and articles in scholarly linguistic journals published in Zagreb, Belgrade, and Sarajevo. The analysis of these data served as the basis for the compilation of the *Jezični savjetnik*, which the authors state is intended primarily for the 'western parts' (*zapadni krajevi*) of the country (Pavešić et al. 1971: 7–8).

The authors then address the question of the unity of the Croatian or Serbian literary language and its norms. They conform to the language policies of the time by stating explicitly that there is one 'Croatian or Serbian language' spoken in the area between Bulgaria and Macedonia in the south and Slovenia in the north, with 'two types, two variants, two redactions' of the literary language (Pavešić et al. 1971: 8). However, in their further discussion of the historical development of these two varieties, they do refer to them as 'two literary languages – Croatian and Serbian – [which] developed largely independently of one another under different social and cultural conditions in different states', so that they are not identical (Pavešić et al. 1971: 10). The authors then immediately switch back to the term 'variant', describing some of the differences between the two varieties. They conclude that both variants are legitimate parts of the national culture of their communities, and add that due to a misunderstanding of the relationships between variants

and nations, between 'our language [note that this is singular] and our nations', there have been many attempts to eliminate one variant and impose the other as the only valid one (Pavešić et al. 1971: 11).

Later in the foreword, the authors discuss the origins of foreign borrowings and reasons for the creation of native terminology. They summarize their advice about the use of borrowings by saying that foreign borrowings are more difficult for speakers to understand, and are unnecessary if there is an adequate native replacement. However, they emphasize that for a great number of borrowings, there is no single native equivalent that can be used in all meanings or contexts, or there is no adequate native replacement at all, and therefore the foreign borrowings are necessary; as such, these forms are not included in the handbook (Pavešić et al. 1971: 18). Thus, the authors adopt a nuanced and moderate approach to the treatment of foreign borrowings, rather than following a rigidly purist agenda. This can be verified in the main part of the work, which is organized in the format of a dictionary. Following are several sample entries:

> **advokat** [lawyer] (Latin) is a Europeanism which is used over our entire linguistic territory. In western regions our old word odvjetnik is used alongside this.
>
> **aeroplan** [airplane] is a good word, alongside our word zrakoplov. In place of these words today the international word avion is used more often.
>
> **nazočan** [present] is a good word, but less common than prisutan.
>
> **značaj** in eastern regions means 'meaning, importance', and in the west 'character'. But the formation of this word does not correspond to either of these meanings, so it is better to avoid it.

In recent years, *odvjetnik, zrakoplov, nazočan*, and *značaj* have all been promoted by language purists as distinctively Croatian and therefore 'better'. These examples illustrate the inclusive approach characteristic of this handbook as a whole. Other words that have been promoted heavily since 1990 as 'better' or 'more Croatian' are either not listed or are identified as regional (for example, *rabiti* 'to use') or archaic (for example, *glede* 'as regards, concerning'), and neutral standard forms are suggested in their place.

We should also mention briefly here a short work by Ivan Brabec, *One hundred linguistic recommendations* (*Sto jezičnih savjeta*, 1982), which was highly regarded and appeared in several editions in rapid succession.

Although he does discuss foreign borrowings in the introduction, arguing that such forms are difficult for the average speaker to understand fully, he says that under normal conditions the use of foreign words is a matter of style (1982: 8–9). The remainder of the book focuses on general problems of phonology, orthography, grammar, and lexical usage. Foreign borrowings or differences between Croatian and Serbian usage are not emphasized. The latter were addressed in a differential dictionary published in Belgrade in 1989 by Jovan Ćirilov. Unlike similar works produced on the Croatian side, this dictionary is in two sections: Croatian-Serbian and Serbian-Croatian. As the author states in his preface, the work is based on the concept that Croatian and Serbian are two variants of a single language. He considers the variant forms to be synonyms, which are part of the lexical wealth of this one language, and his goal was to promote the 'osmosis between the variants […] not for political, but rather for linguistic and culturo-historical reasons' (Ćirilov 1989: 5). This is an apt demonstration of the different attitudes towards the standard language on the Croatian and Serbian sides that persisted up until the collapse of the former Yugoslavia and beyond.

The period from Croatian independence to the present

In the period since Croatia declared its independence, there has been an explosion of linguistic advice of all types, including grammars, dictionaries, and other handbooks written by linguistic professionals, smaller amateur works, articles in newspapers, and broadcasts on radio and television. Language advice in the media will be considered separately in Chapter 10. Here we will focus on the major works that we think are most significant.

Two of the most prolific and influential authors in this period are Stjepan Babić and Stjepko Težak. Babić has long been the editor of the journal *Language (Jezik)*, and has published numerous scholarly articles as well as articles in daily and weekly newspapers devoted to linguistic issues. Since 1990, a number of collections of his work have been published: Babić (1990a, 1995, 2001, 2004a). Like the works of Jonke discussed above, these are not usage guides in the classic sense; together with discussions of 'good' or 'proper' usage they also include articles about the history of the language, polemics with other linguists, and critiques of other handbooks. However, they have definitely been influential as guides to usage, at least among those with a puristic orientation. He has also co-authored orthographical handbooks whose innovations have been the subject of much debate; see below. In his discussions of usage, Babić regularly promotes Croatian forms over those

that are Serbian or foreign, although he is also critical of those who in his view mistakenly proclaim certain forms to be Serbianisms (for example, see his defense of the word *otadžbina* 'fatherland', 2004a: 171–2). In recent years, he has been particularly concerned with the influx of Anglicisms in Croatian and has promoted the creation of native terminology; for example, *napudbina* for 'software', *očvrsje* for 'hardware', and so on (see Babić 1995: 63; we should note that these and other proposed terms are not at all transparent to Croatian speakers). Težak is the author of numerous textbooks and has regularly published articles on linguistic questions in *School News (Školske novine*) and *Jezik*, both of which are sent to all schools in Croatia, so his work has been particularly influential among teachers and students. These articles have also been collected and published as Težak (1991, 1995, 1999, 2004). Težak's approach is identical to Babić's; he argues consistently in favor of using native Croatian forms whenever possible (see, for example Težak 1999: 105). Both Babić and Težak also discuss orthographic, morphological, and grammatical questions.

A number of differential dictionaries have appeared in this period, but the most influential of these is the first one, Brodnjak's *Razlikovni rječnik srpskog i hrvatskog jezika*, published already in 1991. This large-scale work (632 pages) was greeted by many with enthusiasm, and was taken as a guide to aid in the replacement of Serbian words by authentically Croatian forms. However, the dictionary is singularly ill-suited for this purpose. It was originally conceived as a dictionary to help Croatians read Serbian literature, and as such contains a large number of archaic or dialectal words and numerous Turkisms that are not neutral standard Serbian forms. Its entries also include words that have long been used in Croatian, some (but not all) of which have different meanings in Croatian and Serbian. In order to allow the dictionary to be employed as a handbook for Croatian usage, Brodnjak added a complex list of 22 numerical symbols to the entries, which can only serve to confuse readers even further. Following are some excerpts from his explanations of these symbols (listed on the inside front cover of the book):

1. A Serbian word or a word more typical for Serbian than for Croatian that is attested in works of older Croatian authors, according to the *Rječnik hrvatskog književnog jezika* compiled by Julije Benešić (up to the letter R) […]
2. A Serbian word, which from 1918 and especially in more recent times in the mass media has been used to try to force out the corresponding Croatian word, often in a distorted or ijekavianized form […]

3. A Serbian word (or Turkism) completely accepted in the Croatian language, either because there is no good equivalent for it (e.g., *udžbenik, stihija, iznuditi*), or because through long use it has acquired 'citizenship rights' (e.g., *dozvola*).
4. A word or form more typical for Serbian than for the Croatian literary language (*uputnica – doznačnica*, *prijatan – ugodan, opeka – cigla, domaćinstvo – kućanstvo, omladina – mladež*), although it is also used in the Croatian literary language.
7. A Serbian or Croatian word or a foreign word alongside which in Croatian there also exists another stylistically unmarked word (*upotreba – uporaba, materija – tvar, legura – slitina*). (Brodnjak 1991)

To make matters even worse, many of the entries in the dictionary carry two of these symbols. Brodnjak's dictionary received a number of critical reviews from linguists (see especially Peti 1994), but its influence on the broader public can be shown by the decision to publish a second pocket edition in 1992 'to make it accessible to the greatest number of readers, especially teachers, pupils, and college students' (Brodnjak 1992: v, foreword by Ivo Klarić). Although this edition was shortened by about 15%, this was accomplished simply by eliminating separate entries for some related derivatives. All of the archaic, dialectal and foreign words from the original were otherwise retained, together with the complete system of numerical symbols.

In 1999, the IHJJ produced a massive guide to correct usage, the *Hrvatski jezični savjetnik* (Barić et al. 1999), under the executive editorship of Lana Hudeček, Milica Mihaljević, and Luka Vukojević, working together with nine other linguists.[11] The work comprises 1,659 pages, and is in two main parts. The first section (pages 9–341) explains the approach to creating the handbook and how to use it, as well as discussing basic concepts (the literary language, the norms of the standard language, 'linguistic intuition', the relationship of the standard language to the štokavian dialect group, functional styles) and specific problems related to orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, and the lexicon. This is followed by a dictionary of usage (*Savjetnički rječnik*, pages 345–1,646), which lists forms that are felt to be potentially problematic or difficult in some respect. It is interesting to note that this dictionary of problematic forms, which does not give examples of usage or definitions except when absolutely necessary, is almost as large as the most comprehensive monolingual dictionary of the contemporary Croatian standard language currently in print (Šonje 2000, 1,450 pages).[12]

In the introduction, the authors state that the *Hrvatski jezični savjetnik* is intended as a replacement for Pavešić et al. 1971, which they describe as having played an exceptionally important role in the development of the Croatian standard language, but which they see as being 'outdated, [and] from the contemporary perspective erroneous' in many respects (Barić et al. 1999: 9). In their view, a new guide for usage is also needed because of the exceptionally poor state of contemporary linguistic culture:

> Guides to proper usage are one of the most important instruments and witnesses of linguistic culture. They appear when the state of linguistic culture is bad, when this state calls them forth. Judging by the number of usage guides (of one or another type) and differential dictionaries (in the past decade about ten have been published), the state of Croatian linguistic culture has never been worse. This situation has also 'called forth' this usage guide. (Barić et al. 1999: 10)

The authors specifically discuss the concept of a 'Croatian linguistic intuition' (*hrvatski jezični osjećaj*). As they correctly point out, this 'linguistic intuition' cannot simultaneously be based on standard usage and serve as a criterion for what is considered to be standard (Barić et al. 1999: 49). They argue instead for the application of consistent scientific methods and principles to determine what is correct, but their definition of what they consider to be the proper approach is equally circular. They state that the development of the standard language cannot be based on 'good Croatian usage' or Croatian artistic literature. Instead, they say it should be based on a scholarly description of the Croatian language and the Croatian linguistic tradition, including grammars, dictionaries, and orthographic manuals based on this tradition (Barić et al. 1999: 50). But any description of the Croatian language can obviously only be based on some corpus representing Croatian usage, which either has been chosen because it is felt to reflect 'good' usage that is suitable for defining the norms of the standard language, or else has been chosen as a representative sample of the entire range of Croatian usage, in which case it will include all sorts of variation that prescriptivists would like to exclude from the standard. The 'Croatian linguistic tradition' likewise cannot be defined apart from some actual corpus.

The authors' stated approach to loanwords follows what they refer to as 'the old Croatian purist rule': whenever a word of foreign origin can be replaced by a word of native origin, it is necessary to use the native word in all general standard language contexts, especially in

public and official communication. Even when the meanings do not completely overlap, it is better to use the native word in all contexts where it is possible. Only when there is no suitable native replacement in all or some meanings is it allowable to use foreign words in situations where the standard language is required (Barić et al. 1999: 104). However, the authors do go on to relax this principle somewhat, in recognition of the existence of different functional styles. They state that borrowings are sometimes necessary in the scholarly style, are allowable in conversational style, but should be reduced to a minimum in neutral, stylistically unmarked contexts (Barić et al. 1999: 106). Their own usage is inconsistent in this respect. For example, they regularly use *inačica* instead of *varijanta* 'variant', *nazivlje* instead of *terminologija* 'terminology', *sklanjanje* instead of *deklinacija* 'declension', but also *gramatika* instead of *slovnica* 'grammar', *prefiks* instead of *predmetak* 'prefix', and so on. For some native terms the internationalism is also given in parentheses, for example *zamjenjivanje* (*alternacija*) 'alternation'. There are other inconsistencies within the first part of this handbook or between the first and second parts, which is perhaps inevitable with a work of this size created by multiple authors. For example, the authors use *osobna zamjenica* instead of the putatively Serbian *lična zam(j)enica* 'personal pronoun', but use *lice* rather than *osoba* to refer to the grammatical category of person (for example, on page 173). Preposition plus noun phrases used adverbially are to be written separately, according to the discussion on page 340, but in the dictionary section are written as a single word (for example *na žalost* versus *nažalost* 'unfortunately').[13]

As explained in the introduction (Barić et al. 1999: 20–4), the dictionary portion of this work uses certain symbols to indicate the normative and stylistic status of words: > indicates that the form to the right is 'better' for some reason, → indicates that the form to the left does not belong to the standard language (this group includes Serbianisms, foreign words, and other non-standard forms) and therefore *must* be replaced by the form to the right, and = means that the forms are equivalent in status. A dash – indicates that the form to the left (a loanword) should be used only for special stylistic reasons; otherwise it should be replaced by the form to the right (a native word). For example:

evropski > *europski* 'European'
hemija → *kemija* 'chemistry'
sport = *šport* 'sports'
interpretirati – *objasniti, izvesti* 'to interpret'

As is usual, the dictionary portion also uses a number of abbreviations, indicating whether a word is considered to be archaic, dialectal, colloquial, and so on.

If we compare the *Hrvatski jezični savjetnik* with other recent normative dictionaries, we find that these works fairly often disagree about the status of individual words. Bujas (1999) and Šonje (2000) both use arrows to refer readers to other forms that are considered more common or stylistically neutral. Bujas (1999) includes a list of numerical symbols similar to those in Brodnjak that are used in conjunction with the arrows to indicate various reasons for the referral, including one that designates a Serbian or foreign form that should be replaced by a native Croatian expression. Anić (1998) and Šonje (2000) use only abbreviations in the entries; we should also note that Šonje (2000), unlike Anić (1998) and Bujas (1999), does not identify any undesirable forms specifically as Serbian. Table 8.1 gives several examples of the different treatment of forms in these sources. Barić et al. (1999) consider *odvjetnik, nadnevak, sustav* to be the neutral standard forms; Bujas (1999) indicates that *odvjetnik* and *sustav* are more common or preferred, but *datum* is given preference over *nadnevak*. Barić et al. (1999) treat *izvještaj* and *izvješće* as equivalent; Bujas (1999), on the other hand, prefers *izvještaj,* and both Anić (1998) and Šonje (2000) treat *izvješće* as the primary

Table 8.1 Comparison of the *Hrvatski jezični savjetnik* with contemporaneous dictionaries

Barić et al. (1999)	**Anić (1998)**	**Bujas (1999)**	**Šonje (2000)**
advokat – odvjetnik 'lawyer'	both forms unmarked	*advokat* → *odvjetnik* (more correct, native word)	both forms unmarked
datum – nadnevak 'date'	both forms unmarked	*nadnevak* → *datum*	both forms unmarked
Evropa > *Europa* 'Europe'	*Europa* – see *Evropa*	*Evro-* → *Euro-* (*Evro-* is Serbian)	*Evropa* → *Europa*
izvještaj = izvješće 'report'	*izvještaj = izvješće* (full definition given under the entry *izvješće*)	*izvješće* → *izvještaj*	*izvještaj – izvješće* (full definition given under the entry *izvješće*)
sistem – sustav	both forms unmarked	*sistem* → *sustav* (native word)	*sistem* is colloquial

form, since the full definition is given under this entry. All except Anić (1998) prefer *Europa* over *Evropa*. The differing evaluations of the standard or stylistic status of words, as well as the different approaches used for conveying this information, have the potential to cause confusion or uncertainty among users of the language.

As an alternative to the rigid purism of much other language advice, the columns and books published by Nives Opačić became popular in the 2000s. She published a usage guide in 2009 entitled *Tell it to me briefly and clearly: Croatian for normal people* (*Reci mi to kratko i jasno: Hrvatski za normalne ljude*). Her attitude toward the standard language and questions of proper usage are already suggested by the title, and she clearly outlines her approach in the preface to the book, stating that it is written for those who truly want to learn more about the language, and that her intention is not to dictate usage, but to explain why she thinks certain forms are better or correct (Opačić 2009: 7). The book is organized as a conventional handbook, with alphabetical entries for problematic forms in the main part and an appendix with tables, a glossary, and an index. It deals with a range of questions concerning phonology, grammar, and the lexicon. Despite her disclaimer in the preface, the advice is generally prescriptive in form. For example, in discussing the pair *jezični/jezički* 'related to language, linguistic' she states: 'In this case only the choice of the suffix *-ni*, therefore *jezični*, is correct. The form *jezički* belongs to the Serbian language' (Opačić 2009: 92). However, her recommendations in connection with foreign borrowings usually concern only their adaptation into Croatian (for example, *bajker* instead of *biker* 'biker', *ekshibicija* instead of *egzibicija* 'exhibition'), rather than promoting Croatian equivalents, and in many instances she argues against the exclusion of forms that purists have labeled as Serbian. She writes about the pair *desiti se/dogoditi se* 'to happen' as follows:

> There are many people who would take your head off if you say that something *desilo se* [happened] to you. I even know some journalists who always ask me what I say when I hear people saying *desiti se* and not – as they think is exclusively correct – *dogoditi se*. They do this, as they do many other things, without bothering to check how things really stand, and probably for that reason they are so exclusionary and militant. Many language editors (*lektori*) will also happily change every *desiti se* into *dogoditi se* for you, probably out of fear that someone will accuse them (or their editors) of 'spreading Serbianisms'. (Opačić 2009: 45–6)

She goes on to discuss evidence from dictionaries and literature, concluding that both forms are acceptable in standard Croatian. She gives similar advice about the pairs *pažnja/pozornost* 'attention', *prilika/prigoda* 'opportunity', and so on.

Questions relating to the orthographic norms of the language have attracted an extraordinary amount of attention in Croatia since its independence, and have been the source of much controversy, so much so that the issue has often been referred to as 'orthographic war' (*pravopisni rat*).[14] After the Croats' rejection of the Novi Sad orthographic manual from 1960 and the suppression of the Babić-Finka-Moguš pravopis of 1971 (the *Londoner*, see Chapter 4), there was a long gap before the publication of the next major handbook, the *Orthographic handbook of the Croatian or Serbian Language* (*Pravopisni priručnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, Anić and Silić 1986). This manual was republished in 1987 and 1990 and was generally well received in Croatia, since it reflected the commonly accepted orthographic practices of its time. But around the same time that the 3rd edition of Anić and Silić's pravopis appeared, the *Londoner* was reprinted in Croatia (*Hrvatski pravopis*, Babić, Finka, and Moguš [abbreviated BFM below] 1990) and immediately gained a large number of adherents, both because of its mythic status among Croats and because it did not include 'Serbian' in its title. This first Croatian reprinting quickly sold out, and in 1994 the authors produced a new, somewhat modernized version. Subsequent editions appeared regularly in the following years (1995, 1996, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004). This was followed by a version intended for use in schools (*Hrvatski školski pravopis*, Babić, Ham, and Moguš 2005, 2008, 2009, 2012), as well as newer editions of the *Hrvatski pravopis* published under Babić and Moguš's names alone (Babić and Moguš 2010, 2011). Thus, versions of the BFM orthographic rules have been published regularly for over 20 years.

The new edition of the BFM pravopis in 1994 introduced certain innovations that were not consistent with previously established spelling practices and which had not been included in the original 1971 version of this manual or the 1990 reprinting. These are: the spelling of the negated forms of the verb 'want, will' (used as the future auxiliary) as two separate words rather than a single word (*ne ću, ne ćeš*, and so on instead of *neću*, *nećeš*); spelling the reflex of short **ě* as *je* after *r* preceded by another consonant instead of as *e* (for example, *pogrješka* instead of *pogreška* 'mistake'); and retaining *d, t* before *c* in nouns with the suffix *-(a)c* (for example, *sudac* 'judge', N.PL *sudci* instead of *suci;* see the discussion in Chapter 7). These innovations were treated as optional in the editions from 1994–1996, but beginning in 2000 the newer spellings

are presented as the only acceptable ones, with a number of exceptions in the case of the *Crje* forms, which are confusing and not clearly justified.[15] The 1994 edition (that is, the one that first treated both the older and newer spellings as acceptable) was approved by the Ministry of Culture and Education for use in elementary and secondary schools, but this statement continued to appear in subsequent editions, which allowed only the newer spellings.[16] As a result, the newer spellings were represented to the public as being the 'official' ones, when they actually did not have that status. The newer spellings were also given as the only acceptable ones in the *Croatian School Orthography* (*Hrvatski školski pravopis*) first published by Babić, Ham, and Moguš in 2005, which was 'recommended' for use in schools by the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports (the Ministry subsequently clarified that this manual was not obligatory, but most schools treated it as such). Finally, a new edition of the *Hrvatski pravopis* appeared in 2010 under the names of Babić and Moguš alone (since it was prepared after Finka's death); it included some changes in presentation, but not in the prescribed norms. Both this manual and the editions of the *Hrvatski školski pravopis* that appeared after 2005 also carried the statement that they were 'in conformity with the recommendations of the Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language' (see Chapter 7). Thus we can see that a certain portion of the linguistic establishment in Croatia pushed for the adoption of certain minor, but symbolic, changes to the orthographic norms, and used the authority of the government and the Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language to promote these changes to the public. However, the proposed changes created a great deal of controversy and have never been widely adopted among the general public.

Two other orthographic manuals appeared in this same period, both of which partly or completely rejected the innovations of Babić, Finka, and Moguš. The first of these was a new version of the Anić-Silić pravopis, which was published in 2001. It was not approved for use in schools and thus had little influence, apart from some academic circles that resisted the BFM norms. In 2007, the Matica hrvatska attempted to bring an end to the orthographic divisions in the country by publishing a new handbook authored by Lada Badurina, Ivan Marković, and Krešimir Mićanović, which was informed by the collective decisions of an orthographic committee established by the Matica hrvatska. In many respects this work represents a more modern, scholarly approach; in particular, it includes detailed rules for the transcription of foreign names, created in consultation with specialists for the individual languages, and tries to establish consistent principles for the spelling of

forms as one or two words. It also includes guidelines for citing print and electronic publications and compiling bibliographies. Although the Matica hrvatska requested approval for this handbook to be used in the schools, it was also initially denied; approval was granted only in 2013, immediately before the publication of the new orthographic manual developed in the Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics.[17]

After years of continuing controversy over orthographical questions, the IHJJ announced plans to create a new orthographic handbook that would be the result of collaboration among a large number of scholars, with the goal of reconciling the differences among competing norms. In contrast to previous efforts, a working version of the Institute's pravopis was published in the newspaper *Večernji list* on 15 April 2013, and the Institute invited comments from other experts and from the general public.[18] After making some revisions based on these comments, the final version was approved in June 2013 and published in an online version (http://pravopis.hr). The new manual was recommended for use in schools by the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports in July 2013, and a print edition appeared in November of that year (Jozić et al. 2013). This work in some respects does represent a compromise among the rules of the previous competing handbooks. Based on the online version, the authors recommend spellings with *Cre* instead of *Crje* (for example, *crijep* '(roofing) tile', *crepar* 'tile-maker', versus *crjepar* in the BFM pravopis). However, they allow a number of exceptions, which are potentially confusing and not entirely consistent (for example, *brijeg* 'hill', N.PL *bregovi* or *brjegovi*, but only *bregovit* 'hilly'). They also include a disclaimer saying that:

> The writing of je or e after a 'covered' r is not an orthographical question in the proper sense because variation exists in speech. Those who pronounce *bezgrešan*, *grešan*, *greška*, *grešnica*, *grešnik* should also write these words in this way, i.e. [sic] those who write *bezgrješan, grješan, grješka, grješnica, grješnik* should also pronounce these words this way. (http://pravopis.hr, accessed 17 November 2013)

Unlike the BFM pravopis, the IHJJ pravopis gives the joined spellings *neću*, *nećeš* and so on as the only acceptable ones, following the norms that prevailed in the 20th century. On the other hand, the authors require the retention of *d* and *t* in nouns ending *-t(a)c, -d(a)c, -t(a)k, -d(a)k*, with the sole exception of *otac* 'father' (for example, *sudac* 'judge' N.PL *sudci*). As noted in Chapter 7, this results in inconsistencies due to the spelling of voicing assimilation in other forms; compare the entry in the

orthographical dictionary of the IHJJ pravopis for *predak* 'ancestor', G.SG *pretka*, V.SG *predče*, N.PL *predci*. Because of the unusual *-dc-* and *-dč-* spellings here, which go against the normal practices for other consonant clusters as well as the traditional spelling for these particular forms, the authors feel the need to also indicate their correct pronunciation: V.SG [preče], N.PL [preci]. Another inconsistency that is reflective of the Catholic Church's political influence in Croatia is that after the period of public comment, the IHJJ changed the rules for capitalization at the request of the Church, prescribing *Katolička Crkva* with both parts of the name capitalized (the same applies for other denominations), although this convention is not used with other institutions (compare, for example, *Hrvatski sabor* 'the Croatian Parliament', *Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti* 'the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts', and so on).

In practical terms, there was no real need for the publication of this 'compromise' orthographic manual, since it does not differ significantly from the Matica hrvatska pravopis of 2007. The latter work prescribes the spelling *Cre*, but includes a note that 'In part of the Croatian orthographic tradition *rje* is written also in cases where the group *consonant + r + je* belong to the same morpheme: *grjehota, grješnik*, *pogrješka, vrjednota, strjelica*, etc. The spelling *rje* in such words presupposes that the group *rje* is pronounced as [r̥je]' (Badurina, Marković, and Mićanović 2007: 18). Although these authors list the deletion of *d* and *t* in nouns ending *-d(a)c, -d(a)k, -t(a)c, -t(a)k* as the general rule, they state too that *d* and *t* may also be written in such forms when one desires to preserve the spelling of the underlying root (36). As in the Institute's pravopis, the Matica hrvatska pravopis also prescribes the joined spelling *neću*, *nećeš*, and so on. Thus, there was already an orthographic handbook in existence, produced by respected linguists and published by an influential institution, that respected the previous tradition of Croatian spelling, but also allowed variation in some of the few controversial cases for those who favored these innovations. It is not yet clear whether the new pravopis by the Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics will be more successful in resolving the controversies over spelling and will gain acceptance among the general public.

9

Models of Linguistic Perfection: The Role of the Educational System in Croatian Language Planning

Introduction

At a round-table discussion about the standardization of Croatian and the current status of its norms organized by the Matica hrvatska in the spring of 1998, the linguist August Kovačec stated:

> And furthermore, among the other criticisms I would mention one more, a criticism to all of us, but first and foremost to the Croatian authorities. It seems to me that Croatia has missed a chance, but it's not yet too late to try our luck again. *This is the standardization of the language through the schools*. Through television or through radio or through newspapers you can support certain elements of the norm that have already been planted somewhere. You can water what already exists, but through television and radio you will have great difficulty in setting the norm free out into the world so that it will become alive, so that it will be respected.
>
> But in the schools, instead of patriotic texts full of emotion, which in and of themselves are fine, but from which there is not much benefit, it seems to me that *it would be more useful to edit the texts in school textbooks*, from arithmetic and language in the elementary schools to high-school subjects, chemistry, mathematics, physics, and geography, *so that the language in them will be impeccable*. (Samardžija 1999: 333, emphasis added)

The educational system plays an important role in language policy and planning, as has been frequently noted by scholars (for example, Bourdieu 1991: 48–9; Joseph 2006: 46–9), and individuals concerned

with language management in Croatia are clearly aware of this fact. It is the area in which the Croatian government has made the most explicit and systematic attempts to enforce the usage of symbolically Croatian forms and to promote the Croatian language as a symbol of national identity. In this chapter we will examine changes in this direction that have been introduced in curricular standards and in textbooks. In addition, we will consider symposia and publications concerned with continuing education for teachers, since these represent another avenue for making teachers aware of language policies and attempting to influence their attitudes about the standard language. Finally, we will examine the results of surveys intended to evaluate teachers' awareness of suggested changes to the norms of the standard language and their attitudes towards these changes.

Curricular standards for Croatian as a school subject

Both in the former Yugoslavia and in Croatia after 1991, the government regularly revised and published standards for the primary and secondary educational system that were to be applied throughout the Republic of Croatia. These include general statements of the overall educational objectives for different subjects at different levels, as well as more detailed curricular plans that outline specific topics to be covered at each level. The documents have varying titles, commonly including the phrases 'Plan and program' (*Plan i program*) or 'Comprehensive curriculum' (*Okvirni kurikulum*), and we will refer to them interchangeably as curricular plans or curricular standards. We will focus on curricular standards for instruction in Croatian as a school subject, since this is where one would expect changes to the status and corpus of the Croatian language to be most clearly reflected. The documents examined cover the period from 1972 through 2013, that is, approximately the two decades before and after the establishment of an independent Croatian state.[1]

The 1972 curricular standards for primary schools in the Socialist Republic of Croatia treat Croatian and Serbian as a single language, in accordance with the language policies of that time. The official title of this subject area in the Croatian schools at the time was 'The Croatian or Serbian language' (*Hrvatski ili srpski jezik*) and the primary goals stated for this subject are 'to enable pupils to express themselves correctly using the literary language and to develop their consciousness of the need for the cultivation of linguistic culture, love and respect towards the language and cultural heritage of their own nation, and

respect towards the culture of other nations' (Zavod za unapređivanje osnovnog obrazovanja SRH 1972: 25). Among the specific tasks of instruction, the first one listed is for students to 'become acquainted with the fundamental regularities of the contemporary literary language' (ibid.). The authors of this document stress concepts that correspond to the view of the standard language during that period, as well as the political ideology of brotherhood and unity for all Yugoslav peoples, using stock phrases common at the time. As seen in the quotes above, apart from the official name of the subject area itself, the document tends to speak about 'the literary language' without specifying it as either Croatian or Serbian. Although some of the specific guidelines for various grades assume the use of the ijekavian pronunciation and spelling (for example, in the discussion of exercises to distinguish between long *ije* and short *je*; Zavod za unapređivanje osnovnog obrazovanja SRH 1972: 29, 33), nowhere does this document explicitly prescribe the use of ijekavian forms or stipulate that instruction is to be in the 'western variant' (that is, in Croatian, according to the terminology of this time). In fact, in assignments focusing on written expression, it explicitly states that students may use either the Latin or Cyrillic alphabet (63). Among the tasks listed at the beginning of this section, the document states that students should become acquainted with the most important works of Croatian children's and artistic literature and other Yugoslav literatures, as well as selected works of world literature. However, in the outlines for individual grades, there is not always a distinction between Croatian and other literatures. No specific mention of Croatian literature is made in the sections for Grades I–IV, for example, while for Grade VI (45) the document refers first to 'Selected texts from *our literatures* [emphasis added] and world literature' (*Odabrani tekstovi iz naših književnosti i svjetske književnosti*), and then goes on later to mention selected narrative texts from contemporary Croatian literature, other Yugoslav literatures, and world literature.

After the adoption of a new Croatian constitution in 1974, we find changes in references to the official language in government documents. Article 138 of the new constitution declared 'the Croatian literary language' to be in official usage in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, although this was still defined as a standardized form of 'Croatian or Serbian', which continued to be viewed officially as a single language. This article goes on to state that the equal rights of all languages and writing systems of the Republic's various national groups are guaranteed in the areas in which they live, and that members of these groups have the right to use their own languages and writing systems when dealing

with the governmental administrative apparatus. This means that, for example, Serbs would have the right to use their (Serbian) language and their (Cyrillic) alphabet under conditions that were determined for the realization of equal rights.[2]

For this reason, after the 1974 Constitution we do find references to 'the Croatian literary language' in the curricular standards, but the official title of the subject itself as late as 1989–1990 is still 'The Croatian or Serbian language'. For example, the *Plan i program odgoja i osnovnog obrazovanja* (Prosvjetni savjet Hrvatske, n.d. [ca. 1989–1990])[3] makes specific references to the Croatian literary language among the goals of instruction, rather than simply referring to 'the literary language' as in earlier documents of this type; for example, 'to become acquainted with the fundamental characteristics of the grammatical system of the contemporary Croatian literary language' (*upoznati temeljne značajke gramatičkog sustava suvremenog hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, p. 29). It also includes certain key phrases that are characteristic of the writings of those who promote a separate linguistic identity for Croatian; for example, 'to develop [the students'] linguistic intuition' (*razvijati jezični osjećaj*, ibid; see the discussion of the term *jezični osjećaj* in Chapters 1 and 8). At the same time, this curricular plan also continues to explicitly promote the socialist goals of brotherhood and unity for all peoples of the SFRY.

On the whole, curricular standards from the socialist period are very much in line with what one would expect as far as language policy is concerned. They treat Croatian and Serbian explicitly as a single language, and generally avoid naming the language whenever possible, using inclusive or deliberately ambiguous terminology such as 'our language', 'the literary language', 'the language and cultural heritage of one's own people' (*svoga naroda*), 'texts selected from our literatures', and so on. Although they do occasionally make references to 'Croatian literature' or 'texts by Croatian authors', the general impression is that they avoid specific references to Croatian linguistic identity or Croatian culture as much as possible.

The curricular plan (*Nastavni plan i program za osnovne škole u Republici Hrvatskoj*) from 1991, the year Croatia declared its independence from Yugoslavia, is the first one to make specific mention of national identity in connection with the Croatian language. One of the stated goals for instruction in Croatian is 'to develop and strengthen the student's personal consciousness of the role of language and art in the recognition, preservation, and development of his/her own cultural and national identity, as well as in the recognition and respect for the cultural

and national identity of others' (Zavod za školstvo 1991: 19). In this document the detailed goals for different grades refer specifically to the Croatian language, as one would expect. At the eighth-grade level we see for the first time the inclusion of instruction on the historical development of the Croatian language, the 'struggle for the literary language and orthography', and the basic features and geographical locations of Croatian dialects (which are described specifically as Croatian, not Serbo-Croatian). However, the educational goals also still include mastery of the other writing system (Cyrillic or Latin, depending on the ethnicity of the student), as in the plans from the socialist period, and teachers are explicitly instructed to choose texts based on an adequate representation of both Croatian literature and the literature of other Yugoslav peoples (Zavod za školstvo 1991: 35).

The 1995 comprehensive curriculum (Ministarstvo prosvjete i športa, *Okvirni nastavni plan i program za osnovne škole u Republici Hrvatskoj*) differs from previous ones in that it no longer mentions the literatures of other Yugoslav peoples or instruction in the Cyrillic alphabet. The text refers specifically to language as a fundamental feature of Croatian national identity, and the language of the document itself emphasizes features that are felt to be distinctively Croatian. The longer definite adjective endings *-oga, -omu, -ome* are more frequent than in earlier curricular plans, some common loanwords are replaced by Croatian equivalents, and we also find other variants that are seen as being specific to Croatian; for example, *samobitnost* instead of *identitet* 'identity', *ćudoredni* instead of *moralni* 'moral', *raščlamba* instead of *analiza* 'analysis', *naobrazba* instead of *obrazovanje* 'education', *poraba* instead of *upotreba* 'use', *štovanje* instead of *poštovanje* 'respect', and so on. In a number of instances technical terms of foreign origin are given side by side with Croatian equivalents; for example, *slovničkoga/gramatičkog* 'grammatical' (see the excerpts quoted in Figure 9.1). The 'native Croatian' forms represent a departure from terminology previously used in the educational system. The international terms are apparently included as explanations for newly introduced terms that may have been unfamiliar. This obviously reflects an effort to replace old 'international' terms with new 'Croatian' ones, and one may assume that the intention is for teachers to use the newer terms in classroom instruction. We should also point out that the document makes specific references to literature on the theme of the Homeland War[4] and to the creation of democratic conditions allowing for the free development of the Croatian language, both of which are closely connected with the theme of language as a symbol of Croatian identity.

V. Hrvatski jezik od I. do VIII. razreda	V. Croatian language, grades I–VIII
SVRHA	GOALS
Svrha je nastave hrvatskoga jezika u osnovnoj školi višestruka:	The goals of instruction in the Croatian language in primary school are manifold:
a) stjecati svijest o potrebi upoznavanja, učenja i njegovanja hrvatskoga jezika; stjecati ljubav za hrvatski jezik i književnost te spoznaje o biti i posebnim značajkama hrvatskoga jezika kao sredstva priopćivanja i umjetničkog izražavanja, ali i osnovnog obilježja hrvatske narodne **samobitnosti;** […]	a) to acquire a consciousness of the need for familiarization with, study, and cultivation of the Croatian language; to acquire a love for the Croatian language and literature as well as an understanding of the essence and specific characteristics of the Croatian language as a means of communication and of artistic expression, but also as a fundamental feature of Croatian national identity; […]
c) na razini osnovnoškolske opće **naobrazbe** osposobiti učenike za **porabu** hrvatskoga standardnog jezika u svim tekstovnim vrstama, funkcionalnim stilovima i priopćajnim sredstvima.	c) on the level of general education in the primary schools to enable students to use the Croatian standard language in all text genres, functional styles, and communicational media.
ZADAĆE	TASKS
[…]	[…]
–upoznavanje i usvajanje **glasovnoga/fonološkog, pisanoga/grafemskog, slovničkoga/gramatičkog,** morfološkoga, tvorbenoga, sintaktičkog sustava hrvatskoga jezika;	–familiarization with and mastery of the phonological, graphemic, grammatical, morphological, word-formation, and syntactic systems of the Croatian language;
[…]	[…]
–upoznavanje, čuvanje, **štovanje** i razvijanje vlastitoga nacionalnog i kulturnog identiteta na djelima hrvatske književnosti, kazališta, filma i drugih priopćajnih sredstava;	–familiarization with, preservation, respect, and development of one's own national and cultural identity on the basis of works of Croatian literature, theater, film, and other communicational media;
–upoznavanje književnih djela s tematikom Domovinskog rata i razvijanje svijesti o stvaranju demokratskih uvjeta za slobodan razvoj hrvatskoga jezika, književnosti i medijske komunikacije;	–familiarization with literary works on the theme of the Homeland War and development of consciousness of the creation of democratic conditions for the free development of the Croatian language, literature, and media;

–upoznavanje hrvatske baštine radi shvaćanja i prihvaćanja materijalnih i duhovnih vrijednosti koje promiču značenje duha i duhovnosti, kao i općeljudskih **čudorednih** načela, te razvijanje svijesti o posjedovanju kulturnih obilježja (kulturno-antropoloških, nacionalno-povijesnih, vrijednosno-običajnih, jezičnih i stilskih); […]	–familiarization with the Croatian cultural tradition for the purpose of understanding and accepting the material and spiritual values that promote the significance of mentality and spirituality as well as general human moral principles, the development of consciousness of the possession of cultural characteristics (cultural-anthropological, national-historical, value system-traditional, linguistic, and stylistic) […]
–osposobljavanje za vrijednosnu **raščlambu/analizu, prosudbu/refleksiju, vrednovanje/valorizaciju** poruka (umjetničkih i znanstvenih); […]	–equipping students for qualitative analysis, reflection, evaluation of messages (literary and scientific); […]

Figure 9.1 Excerpts from *Okvirni nastavni plan i program za osnovne škole u Republici Hrvatskoj (izmjene i dopune)*
Ministarstvo prosvjete i športa (1995: 10, emphasis added).

The curricular plan from 1999 (Ministarstvo prosvjete i športa, *Nastavni plan i program za osvnovnu školu*) repeats the same text in the section on the Croatian language, with a small number of lexical changes that appear to be the result of editorial interventions (for example, *naobrazba* is replaced by *obrazovanje* 'education' and *motrište* by *gledište* 'viewpoint', both of which are terms commonly used before). Another difference here is that the historical development of the Croatian language is to be treated over several grades, rather than just in Grade 8, as in the 1995 curriculum. The standards stipulate that students should learn about the history of Croatian from the Baška Tablet, the earliest inscription in Croatian Church Slavonic, to the present. The production of literature in all three dialects is characterized as part of a single Croatian written tradition, and the autonomy of the Croatian language is emphasized.

The most recent curricular standards (*Nacionalni okvirni kurikulum*, or NOK) were published as a draft proposal in 2008 and in a final version in 2010 by the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports (MZOŠ). A revised version appeared in 2011, with only minor changes. The curriculum is based on EU policies and recommendations for education, and is organized around the development of competency in seven

areas: language and communication, mathematics, natural sciences, technology and computer science, social sciences and humanities, art, and physical education and health. In contrast to some of the documents discussed above, it does not necessarily stipulate specific topics to be covered at different levels, and concrete competencies are outlined for broader 'educational cycles' rather than grade by grade. Identity, particularly Croatian national identity, is considered to be a core value to be developed by the educational system:

> Education contributes to the construction of the personal, cultural, and national identity of the individual. Today, in a time of globalization, in which there is a strong mixing of various cultures, worldviews, and religions, one must become a *citizen of the world*, but at the same time preserve one's own national identity, one's own culture, social, moral, and spiritual heritage. In doing this it is necessary to preserve and develop the Croatian language and to be attentive to its correct use. (MZOŠ 2011: 22)

The connection of Croatian language and identity also figures prominently in the list of general educational goals: 'to promote and develop a consciousness of the Croatian language as an essential factor of Croatian identity, to systematically cultivate the Croatian standard (literary) language in all areas, cycles, and levels of the educational system' (MZOŠ 2011: 23). In the section devoted to linguistic and communicative competency (*Jezično i komunikacijsko područje*), the draft version of the curriculum from 2008 emphasized the official status of Croatian as the state language and the fact that the standard language is not identical to the variety children acquire naturally, but is something that must be consciously learned by all pupils (MZOŠ 2008a: 29). This version explicitly discussed the existence of different varieties of Croatian and stated that students should be made aware of differences between their varieties and the standard language from the very beginning of elementary education. None of this is present in the final versions from 2010 or 2011, but like the 2008 draft, these versions do draw an explicit connection between language and national identity in the standards for communicative and linguistic competency: 'It is necessary to develop respect for the language of the Croatian nation, its literature and culture, and to care for them, because this contributes to the development of national identity' (MZOŠ 2011: 55).

The language of these documents and the differences in usage between them are also interesting. All of them use certain recommended

Croatian forms consistently (for example, *glazba* 'music', *gospodarstvo, gospodarski* 'economy, economic', *pozornost* 'attention', *računalo* (NOUN), *računalni* (ADJ) 'computer', *sustav* 'system'), but international terms are also frequent. All of them also follow specific innovations of the BFM pravopis, although not entirely consistently; we find examples such as *vrjednovanje* 'evaluation', *poredcima* 'orders', with the spelling of *j* after 'covered *r*' and the retention of *t/d* before *c*, but also older spellings such as *nedostacima* (instead of *nedostatcima*) 'deficiencies'.[5] Most striking is the strong preference for the longer adjective endings *-oga, -omu, -ome* in the 2010 and 2011 NOK. The shorter endings *-og, -om* are only rarely used; they sometimes occur in clusters in individual passages, giving the impression that they might simply represent accidental editorial lapses. In comparison, the 2008 draft version of the NOK uses the longer endings most consistently in the section on standards for teaching the Croatian language in schools, while the shorter endings are common in other sections of the document.

The Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports also formulates national standards for textbooks. Three different versions have been approved in the last decade (*Udžbenički standard,* Ministarstvo prosvjete i športa 2003; MZOŠ 2006; MZOS 2013). All of these documents contain a section on 'Linguistic requirements', which highlights two fundamental features of Croatian language policy: the first is the explicit requirement that textbooks be written in the Croatian standard language and orthography, and the second is that they avoid using 'unnecessary' foreign words. The first of these is perfectly justified and logical, but it is interesting that the authors of this document felt the need to state such an obvious requirement explicitly. The Standards for Textbooks from 2003 actually cites Article 12 of the Croatian constitution here, which stipulates that the Croatian language and Latin alphabet are in official use in the Republic of Croatia. The authors of the 2003 version include some additional explanation for the first requirement, stating: 'This means that textbooks must respect the norms of the standard language (written and customary) on all linguistic levels, from phonology through morphology and syntax to semantics'. However, this actually raises further questions, since it is not entirely clear what the 'customary norm' here is supposed to mean. It could indicate the spoken norm, in contrast to the written norm, but this does not make sense in reference to printed textbooks. Another possible interpretation would be norms (most likely lexical) that have been established through previous usage, but are not explicitly codified; perhaps the intent is to refer to the usage of traditional, distinctively Croatian forms, some of which became less

frequent throughout the 20th century. In reference to orthography, the 2003 standards stipulate that 'textbooks shall be written in conformity with approved orthographic handbooks (*Udžbenici se pišu u skladu s odobrenim pravopisima*).'. The use of the plural here acknowledges the existence of competing orthographic manuals, which prescribe different spellings in some instances. The 2003 standards therefore seem to allow the use of different orthographical norms in different textbooks.

As mentioned already, the 2003 Standards for Textbooks state explicitly (in Section 2.5, Point 6) that textbooks should avoid 'unnecessary foreign words (*tuđice*) and so-called internationalisms'. Both components of this requirement demand additional discussion. Some purists insist on a detailed classification of words of foreign origin according to the degree of their adaptation to the Croatian language, which corresponds to their degree of acceptability. This view seems to be reflected in the term used here: *tuđice* are usually defined as words of foreign origin that have been least adapted to the norms of Croatian.[6] Since not a single example is cited to provide any guidance for authors of textbooks, the authors of this document apparently assume that it is self-evident which foreign words are necessary and which are unnecessary, although from a linguistic perspective this is obviously problematic. To the best of our knowledge, even rigid Croatian purists have not proposed any clear criteria for distinguishing between 'necessary' and 'unnecessary' foreign words. Such decisions are therefore left to the discretion of individual authors of textbooks or to reviewers, who may not recommend textbooks for publication or for adoption by the school system if they do not conform to their opinions on this matter. It is also not clear why internationalisms are singled out for special mention alongside *tuđice*, nor why they are referred to disparagingly as 'so-called' internationalisms. The term 'internationalism' is widely used in linguistics to refer to words that have a similar form and meaning in many languages. Many such words have a long history of use in Croatian and are fully adapted to the phonological and morphological structure of the language (there is nothing about a word like *muzika* 'music', for example, that would mark it as 'non-Croatian' for a speaker who was unaware of its etymology or the fact that similar forms occur in many other languages), so there is no objective reason for this category as a whole to be treated as especially undesirable.

The linguistic requirements for textbooks (Section 2.5) in MZOŠ (2006), MZOS (2013) differ in certain details from those in 2003. As in the 2003 standards, this section begins by stating that textbooks must be written in standard Croatian, but the article of the constitution establishing

Croatian as the official language is no longer mentioned. Both versions also stipulate that where variants exist, the authors of a given textbook should choose one form and use it consistently. Regarding terminology, the 2006 version states:

> Terms for which no Croatian equivalent exists, and which have not been standardized, are given in the form that has been adopted in scholarly usage. If this term is not linguistically acceptable, a new term must be found in consultation with an expert in the field and with a linguist, and in conformity with the recommendations of the Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language. (MZOŠ 2006)

This statement assumes that there are forms that are regularly used in scholarly literature but that are nonetheless linguistically unacceptable for some reason (it is entirely unclear which terms these might be, or what criteria can be applied to determine their acceptability), and that in this case it is the responsibility of individual textbook authors to consult with experts to find acceptable equivalents. Here we should also note that this document, in conformity with its own recommendations, employs terms based on Croatian roots that language planners are trying to popularize (in this case *inačica* instead of the established internationalism *varijanta* and *naziv* instead of *termin*).[7] The requirement for terminology was changed in the standards from 2013, which state simply that if no Croatian equivalent exists, textbooks should use the term accepted in the discipline. Both the 2006 and 2013 versions eliminate the statement from 2003 about avoiding 'so-called internationalisms'. However, the requirement to avoid unnecessary foreign words, which was retained, still allows wide scope for the banishment of individual words, as shown for example by the insistence in some recent textbooks on *slovnica* instead of *gramatika* 'grammar', *nadnevak* instead of *datum* 'date', and so on (see below for further discussion). In practice, this often leads to a situation in which the textbook uses one term while teachers use another, more familiar term, which actually represents the 'customary' norm.

Unlike the 2003 Standards for Textbooks, the 2006 and 2013 versions do not allow authors to choose freely among the competing orthographic manuals. The 2006 version states: 'Textbooks are written in accordance with the Croatian orthography' (*Udžbenik je pisan u skladu s hrvatskim pravopisom*). Since the singular is used here, this presumably refers to the BFM pravopis, which was officially approved for use in

schools in 1994 (see Chapter 8). The 2013 version adds another sentence here, saying that the pravopis to be used is determined by the Minister of Education. In July 2013, MZOS approved the IHJJ pravopis for use in the schools, so this will presumably be the orthographical standard used in new textbooks going forward.

Textbooks

An examination of recent school textbooks suggests that the standards published by the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports are actually being applied, but not consistently. We will focus primarily on the replacement of foreign words (or internationalisms) by native Croatian forms and on orthography, since these are mentioned explicitly in the Standards for Textbooks. The educational system places the highest expectations for the cultivation of the standard language on teachers of Croatian, and as one would expect, textbooks for the Croatian language (*Hrvatski jezik – jezik i izražavanje*) are where language policies are most clearly reflected. We also examined sample textbooks for history, mathematics, and biology for purposes of comparison. There are typically three or four approved textbooks for a given subject at each grade level, with the choice left to individual schools. The textbooks considered here are all at the seventh-grade level. Although we did not attempt to do a systematic survey, the examples below are sufficient to give some idea of the treatment of Croatian as a school subject and of contemporary patterns of usage in instructional materials.

At the time of our survey there were four textbooks for the Croatian language in use at the seventh-grade level. The editions examined here are from 2009 and 2011: *Hrvatski ja volim* (Rihtarić et al. 2011), *Hrvatski jezik* (Težak et al. 2009), *Hrvatska krijesnica* (Jukić and Kovač 2009), and *Riječi hrvatske* (Lugarić and Družijanić 2009). With respect to grammatical terminology, the textbooks generally favor native terms over internationalisms, although many of the latter have a long tradition of use in Croatia. There is considerable variation among textbooks; in some cases only the native grammatical term is used, in some cases both variants are given side by side in the text, and in others one form is used in the main text and the other appears only as a definition in the glossary. None of the textbooks is entirely consistent in this regard. For example, Jukić and Kovač (2009) use only *sklonidba* 'declension' in the main text, rather than *deklinacija*, but cite only *dekl.* in their list of abbreviations, which suggests that *sklonidba* may have been a late substitution. Lugarić and Družijanić (2009) use both *sprezanje* and *konjugacija* 'conjugation',

but only *sklonidba* and not *deklinacija*. Other examples include: *zastarjelica/arhaizam* 'archaism', *homonimija/istozvučnost* 'homonymy', *stupnjevanje/komparacija* 'comparison [of adjectives]', *predmetak* 'prefix' (Lugarić and Družijanić 2009); *samoznačne i suznačne riječi* 'autosemantic and synsemantic words', *rečenični znakovi/razgodci* 'punctuation marks', *slovnica/gramatika* 'grammar', *naglasak/akcent* 'accent', *obrnuti poredak/inverzija* 'inversion' (Jukić and Kovač 2009); *nadslovak/dijakritik* 'diacritical mark', *suprotnice* 'antonyms', *sklonidba* 'declension' *predmetak* 'prefix', *prednaglasnice* 'proclitics', *zanaglasnice* 'enclitics' (Rihtarić et al. 2011); *gramatika* (only; *slovnica* is not used), *naglasak/akcent* 'accent', *istopisnice/homografi* 'homographs', *suprotnice/suprotnoznačnice/antonimi* 'antonyms' (Težak et al. 2009).

All of the textbooks use *osoba* to refer to the grammatical category of person, rather than *lice*, which had been well established in this meaning earlier (only Lugarić and Družijanić 2009 give both terms, *osoba* and *lice,* in the main text). The term *osoba* has been promoted as being more authentically Croatian, since Croatian (unlike Serbian) uses *osoba* rather than *lice* to refer to 'person' in other contexts. Three of the textbooks consistently use *samoglasnici* 'vowels' and *suglasnici* 'consonants', native terms that were previously in common use in Croatia as well as in Serbia. However, Jukić and Kovač (2009) replace these with *otvornici, zatvornici*; again, the only obvious reason for this seems to be a desire to create terminology that is uniquely Croatian. All of the textbooks have also adopted the recommended native form *istoznačnica* 'synonym', but the usage is inconsistent and potentially confusing for students. Lugarić and Družijanić (2009) use *sinonim* as a general category, which can be further divided into *istoznačnice* 'words with the same meaning' and *sličnoznačnice* 'words with similar meanings'. Težak et al. (2009: 83) similarly define *sinonimi* as words with the same or similar meanings, which can be characterized as *istoznačnice*, which they specify as words having exactly the same meaning, and *bliskoznačnice*, words whose meanings are very close or similar. However, on the very next page they treat *istoznačnica* and *sinonim* as equivalent terms: *'Istoznačnice (sinonimi) jesu riječi različitoga glasovnoga sastava, a istoga ili sličnoga značenja'* (literally, 'Words with the same meaning [synonyms] are words with a different phonological composition, but the same or similar meaning', 84). Rihtarić et al. (2011) also use *istoznačnica* as the overarching term for synonyms as a category. The problems here are obvious. Although the native terms are arguably preferable in school textbooks because the meanings are transparent to speakers of the language based on their roots (see Jelaska 2007, discussed below), in practice it is difficult

to draw the line between 'words with identical meanings' and 'words with similar meanings', and the tendency to use *istoznačnica* as the equivalent of 'synonym' in a broad sense, while at the same time drawing a distinction between *istoznačnice* and *bliskoznačnice/sličnoznačnice,* is confusing.

The textbook by Rihtarić et al. (2011: 14) explicitly states that 'whenever possible, a foreign word should be replaced by a Croatian one', but without any discussion or justification. Apart from the grammatical terms discussed above, however, in the textbooks examined here this preference for native Croatian expressions appears to be reflected primarily in the symbolic use of certain forms that are perceived by a part of the public to be 'better' or 'more Croatian' (because they replace either a foreign borrowing or a Slavic form that is also used in Serbian); for example, *uporaba* 'use'*, rabiti* 'to use'*, nadnevak* 'date'*, razradba* 'working out, elaboration', and so on. Sometimes both forms will be used side by side, as seen above, where the native term is presumably meant as an explanation for the foreign word (or vice versa); for example, *biografija ili* [or] *životopis* 'biography'. Occasionally this tendency results in pleonastic phrases such as the following: *treba analizirati, raščlaniti i istraživati* 'it is necessary to analyze, analyze and research' (Težak et al. 2009: 123); *Opis je usmeno ili pismeno prikazivanje svojstva, izgleda, osobina, značajki koga ili čega* 'A description is an oral or written demonstration of the characteristics, appearance, characteristics, characteristics of a person or thing' (Jukić and Kovač 2009: 125).[8] On the whole, changes to everyday vocabulary are otherwise relatively rare. Although these textbooks at first glance may appear to have introduced numerous 'new' words or expressions, this is simply due to the fact that such examples involve lexemes that are particularly frequent in textbooks of this type. We should also note that Lugarić and Družijanić (2009) appear to have a more inclusive view of the standard lexicon than the other textbook authors here. Example sentences or texts sometimes contain forms that are now typically proscribed in handbooks and by professional editors (for example, *ogroman* instead of *golem* 'huge', 54; *napolju* instead of *vani* 'outside', 55).

With respect to orthography, the latter textbook also adheres to the older norms of spelling, while the others adopt the innovations prescribed in the BFM pravopis; for example, *pogrešna* 'wrong', *vrednote* 'values', *neće* 'will not' (Lugarić and Družijanić 2009) vs *pogrješka* 'mistake', *vrjednote*, *ostatci* 'remains', *šport* 'sport(s)', *ne će* (Težak et al. 2009); *vrjednote, zadatci* 'assignments, tasks'*, šport, ne ću* 'will not' (Jukić and Kovač 2009). There are also inconsistencies in spelling within the same textbook;

for example, in Rihtarić et al. (2011: 65), the negated future auxiliary (underlined here) is spelled as two words in one example (*Posudi mi knjigu, ili ne ću moći pročitati lektiru*. 'Loan me the book, or else I won't be able to do the reading.'), while in the immediately following example it is spelled as one word (*Potrudi se, ili nećeš stići na vrijeme*. 'Work hard, or else you won't finish in time.'). Rihtarić et al. (2011) include a note at the end of their textbook stating that they followed the prescriptions of the BFM pravopis, and Težak et al. (2009: 94) include a color picture of the cover of the *Hrvatski školski pravopis* by Babić, Ham, and Moguš (2005).[9] In the absence of such overt indications, it is not always immediately obvious which orthographical system is being used in a given textbook, since the frequency of words affected by these different spelling rules is not especially high. This is true even for language textbooks, but more so for the textbooks for other subjects considered below.

Unlike the national curricular standards (MZOŠ 2010, 2011) that were discussed earlier, the textbooks do not use the longer adjectival endings as profusely. Rather, they mostly follow the traditional rule that the first modifier takes a longer ending when two or more are used in the same noun phrase; for example, *Faust Vrančić autor je prvoga hrvatskog samostalno tiskanog rječnika* ('Faust Vrančić is the author of the first independently published Croatian dictionary'; Težak et al. 2009: 6). Compare this with the following phrases from the introduction to the NOK, where longer endings regularly occur in succession:

> *Izradbi Nacionalnoga okvirnoga kurikuluma prethodio je niz aktivnosti koje pokazuju trajno nastojanje hrvatske obrazovne politike za poboljšanjem kvalitete odgoja i obrazovanja.* […] *Riječ je o strategijskomu razvojnomu dokumentu temeljenomu na sveobuhvatnu promišljanju sustava odgoja i obrazovanja.*
>
> [The production of the Comprehensive National Curriculum was preceded by a series of activities which demonstrate the continual endeavors of Croatian educational policy directed towards the improvement of the quality of child development and education. […] We are speaking here of a strategic developmental document founded on a comprehensive evaluation of the educational system.] (MZOŠ 2011: 11)

Some of the textbooks examined here (Rihtarić et al. 2011; Težak et al. 2009) use the variant form *ju* of the third person accusative singular feminine clitic pronoun everywhere, which has been promoted as

a distinctively Croatian feature. According to previously established norms, *ju* is used in place of accusative singular *je* only when the homonymous third person singular form *je* of the verb 'to be' occurs in the same clitic cluster with this pronoun.

In terms of their content, these textbooks devote the majority of their attention to grammar, with shorter sections devoted to orthography, composition, style, and the history of the language. To the extent that the sources can be determined, individual examples and textual excerpts are all taken from the work of Croatian authors. The development of the standard language is often presented with a noticeable bias. For example, Težak et al. (2009: 104) write: 'Starting from the false assumption that the Croats and Serbs are one nation and that they must have one literature and a unified literary language, in the second half of the 19th century Croatian linguists strove to bring the literary language closer to the Serbian literary language'. This statement is unremarkable except for the modifier 'false', which introduces an element of personal opinion into what should be an objective account of historical facts. Other statements in this book are politically problematic; for example: 'Near the end of the 19th century the Croatian linguistic tradition was repressed all the way up until the creation of the Banovina Hrvatska and the Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, and this continued after the Second World War' (ibid.). Formulated in this way, this statement gives students the impression that the ethnically based Banovina Hrvatska, created near the end of the existence of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and the Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, a World War II puppet state of Nazi Germany, were both admirable due to the fact that the Croatian language was no longer repressed.

These textbooks also draw explicit connections between language and national identity, which has been emphasized in recent curricular standards. For example, at the very beginning of the textbook by Jukić and Kovač (2009: 7) there appears a motto by the contemporary Croatian author Ljerka Car Matutinović in which language is described as the core of the nation's existence:

> For me the Croatian language means the beauty and sweetness of [its] words, home, dignity, patience, love. All these things, and still other beautiful words of the Croatian language, which is the core of our existence. Only through it could I express the yearning for my Croatian home to become its own and inviolable after all of its difficult experiences.

Following this, in the same tone, is a discussion of the history of the Croatian language, in which the main idea is that the leaders of the national revival in the 19th century started from the belief that 'language = the nation = the struggle for national identity = the struggle for a unified Croatian language and writing system' (Jukić and Kovač 2009: 17). This clearly reflects the connection between language and identity seen in the curricular standards discussed above.

If we compare these recent textbooks to an equivalent textbook from 1986 (Težak and Brigljević, *Jezik, izražavanje i stvaranje, 7. razred*), one can immediately see just in the number of pages devoted to different topics that the older textbook focuses more on the ability to use the language in stylistically appropriate ways, while the newer ones are more concerned with mechanical aspects of grammar and spelling. The older textbook contains numerous passages about sentence rhythm, word order, reading silently and aloud, and the use of the imperfect tense, among others, which reflect a concern with the expressive potential of language. One such example is a very interesting commentary about conjunctions used for the expression of causality, with a detailed explanation of the meaning of each (*kako, zato što, jer, budući da*; Težak and Brigljević 1986: 76). The choice of one form over another is explained in terms of clarity, brevity, and the rhythm of the sentence, the latter being particularly important where literary texts are concerned.

As we have already seen in the curricular plans from the socialist period, this textbook often refers to the language simply as 'our speech' (*naša riječ*) or 'our language' (*naš jezik*). Concepts are exemplified using literary texts and examples of student writing, including dialogues in which the characters speak in various idioms, including Bosnian and čakavian. Ekavian texts appear in their original form, rather than being adapted to the ijekavian spelling/pronunciation (for example, a text by Ivo Andrić on page 67). The authors of the textbook use some lexemes that are viewed as markedly 'eastern' and are no longer found in textbooks today; for example, *sabiranje podataka* instead of *prikupljanje podataka* 'collection of data', *milicionar* instead of *policajac* 'policeman', *raspoznajete li* instead of *prepoznajete li* 'do you recognize', *dugoljast* instead of *duguljast* 'elongated, oblong', *notes* instead of *bilježnica* 'notebook', *drugovi* instead of *prijatelji* 'friends', among many others. At the same time, however, we also find lexemes that are felt to be characteristic of refined Croatian usage, and as such are the preferred variants today (for example, Slavic names for the

months, such as *svibanj* 'May', *pojedinosti* 'details', *značajke* 'characteristics', *nazočan* 'present').

The general impression is that this textbook includes a relatively large amount of linguistic terminology, most of which is international in origin. However, well-established Croatian equivalents are also used, occasionally side by side with the borrowed form; for example, *samoglasnik* 'vowel', *uzvici* 'interjections', *poredba* 'comparison', *naslonjenice (enklitike)* 'enclitics', *prislonjenice (proklitike)* 'proclitics', and so on. *Glagolsko lice* is the only term used for the verbal category of person (compare the use of *glagolska osoba* in contemporary textbooks). The longer definite adjectival endings are used as a stylistic device as well as a means of distinguishing dative from locative, in accordance with earlier norms.[10] Constructions with *da* (*da li* to introduce questions, *da* + present tense instead of the infinitive) are used only rarely, but in one place the authors explicitly state that the use of the infinitive and constructions with *da* are equivalent for purpose clauses. They cite the example '*Pođi pozdraviti goste = Pođi da pozdraviš goste'* (Go greet the guests) and provide the following explanation: 'A good writer will choose an infinitive of purpose instead of a purpose clause in order to avoid the monotonous repetition of the conjunction *da*, but also conversely will avoid the piling up of infinitives, replacing them with purpose clauses' (Težak and Brigljević 1986: 81). Since the use of *da* + the present tense instead of the infinitive is characteristic of Serbian usage, newer textbooks religiously avoid *da*-clauses whenever this is possible, and typically do not discuss the use of *da* + the present tense as a stylistic variant.

The results of our analysis of these four contemporary Croatian language textbooks for the seventh grade is supported by research on other textbooks for the Croatian language used in schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina (published in Mostar, but more or less identical to versions published in Croatia and used in Croatian schools). According to Gustavsson (2009), the textbooks he examined also introduce Croatian linguistic terms, usually alongside internationalisms (for example, *stupnjevanje ili komparacija* 'comparison', *surječje* (*kontekst*) 'context', *glasoslovlje ili fonetika i fonologija* 'phonetics and phonology', *oblikoslovlje ili morfologija* 'morphology'). The term *glagolska osoba* is also used here for the grammatical category of person. Although these textbooks present certain orthographic variants as equally acceptable (*početci*/*počeci, strjelica/strelica*) when explicitly discussing spelling, elsewhere in the texts the BFM norms are usually followed. Gustavsson also discusses

specific recommendations in the textbooks about which lexical items are considered to be Croatian and the use of native versus borrowed words; for example:

> *Hiljada* [thousand] came into all of our dialects from Greek. It was used to some extent also in the literary language, but today the standard Croatian word is *tisuća*, of Slavic origin. *Hiljada* is therefore a dialectalism and archaism. (*Moj hrvatski* 8, p. 18; cited by Gustavsson 2009: 414)

In all the textbooks examined by Gustavsson, the term *naš jezik* 'our language' occurs a total of three times (Gustavsson 2009: 401). The language is normally referred to as 'the Croatian language' or 'the Croatian literary or standard language' (*hrvatski jezik, hrvatski književni ili standardni jezik*), and the authors do not clearly distinguish between the language as a whole and the standard language, since they use '*hrvatski jezik*' to refer to both concepts. The history of the language is presented from a Croatian perspective, based on the idea that Croatian has always been a separate language, distinct from Serbian (Gustavsson 2009: 401–3).

In addition to the contemporary seventh-grade textbooks for Croatian, we also examined one textbook each for the subjects of history (Agičić et al. 2009), mathematics (Jagodić and Sarapa 2007), and biology (Bendelja et al. 2007). The history textbook consistently uses a number of recommended forms; for example, the already generally adopted spelling *europski* instead of *evropski* 'European', *sustav* instead of *sistem* 'system', *pozorno* instead of *pažljivo* 'attentively'. At the same time, it consistently uses *upotreba* 'use' instead of *uporaba*, which is preferred in textbooks for the Croatian language. The recommended form *neovisnost* 'independence' is found in most contexts in place of *nezavisnost* (for example, *gospodarska neovisnost* 'economic independence'), but fixed phrases or established names may retain the latter variant; for example, *rat za nezavisnost* 'war of independence'. The textbooks for mathematics and biology show a general preference for international terminology, in contrast to the Croatian language textbooks examined above. For example, Bendelja et al. (2007) use *prepostavka (hipoteza)* 'hypothesis' and *načini (metode) istraživanja* 'methods of research' when these concepts are first mentioned, then employ the international term for the most part in the following text. For other concepts, they consistently use the international terms (for example, *eksperiment* 'experiment', *modifikacije* 'modifications', *geografija* 'geography'), and not the corresponding

native terms (*pokus*, *prilagodbe, zemljopis*). With respect to non-technical vocabulary, there is no consistent pattern; some recommended forms are used while others are not. For example, Jagodić and Sarapa (2007) use the borrowings *grupa*, *firma* rather than the recommended native forms *skupina* 'group' and *poduzeće* or *tvrtka* 'firm, business', but also the newer form *djelatnik* 'worker, employee' instead of the previously established *zaposlenik* or *radnik*. The same inconsistency is seen in the orthography of both textbooks; for example, *prema naputcima* 'according to instructions', *najvrjedniji* 'most valuable' according to the BFM pravopis, but *zadaci* 'assignments', *računanje s postocima* 'calculation with percentages' according to the older norms (Jagodić and Sarapa 2007). Similarly, Bendelja et al. (2007) have *ostatci* 'remains', *nedostatci* 'deficiencies', but *preci* 'ancestors' rather than *predci*.

Earlier textbooks for the same subjects appear to use international terminology somewhat more frequently, and also contain lexemes and constructions that are not found in textbooks today; for example, *ličnost* 'person, figure', *drugovi* 'comrades, friends', *u slobodnim časovima* 'in [one's] free hours', *Zašto sumnja da bi proletarijat bio sposoban da spriječi te događaje?* 'Why does he doubt that the proletariat would be able to prevent those events?' (using a *da* clause, underlined, in place of the infinitive; Salzer and Lovrenčić 1978);[11] *nauke* 'sciences', *sudrugovi u razredu* 'classmates', *treba li da izvedete neki pokus* 'is it necessary to conduct an experiment' (Lui 1990). At the same time, they also use some characteristically Croatian forms that are currently recommended; for example, Lui (1990) consistently uses *pokus* 'experiment' instead of *eksperiment* (compare Bendelja 2007 above). We also find other examples, such as *listopad* 'October' (Salzer and Lovrenčić 1978), *sustav* 'system', *zemljopis* 'geography' (Bajrović and Pauše 1986). In terms of orthography and the use of longer adjectival endings, the older textbooks all follow the established conventions of their time.

Although this analysis is admittedly impressionistic in nature, we do find noticeable changes in usage in contemporary school textbooks compared to those prior to 1991. Forms that are markedly Serbian that were never widely adopted in Croatia, at least in more formal usage, are no longer encountered anywhere. Otherwise, changes in usage are most clearly visible in textbooks for the Croatian language. The language textbooks have introduced more innovations in terminology than those for other subjects, and most of them have consistently adopted changes in the orthographical norms recommended in the BFM pravopis. However, all of the textbooks exhibit departures from the 'best' usage recommended by language purists. Instead, the authors have adopted

only certain lexical items, apparently according to their own personal preferences.

Meetings and publications for teachers of Croatian

In addition to national standards for the general educational curriculum and for textbooks, language policies are also promoted through publications and meetings organized for teachers as part of their continuing education. Certification and continuing education for teachers is carried out by the Agency for Education and Teacher Training (Agencija za odgoj i obrazovanje or AZOO).[12]

According to information provided on its website (http://www.azoo.hr/), the AZOO is a public institution responsible for providing professional and advisory support in the area of general education in Croatia. Its scope of work is described very broadly, including the provision of professional and advisory assistance in education; the monitoring, improvement, and development of education; and participation in the preparation, development, and implementation of the national curricular standards. This means that the AZOO reviews and gives opinions on programs at all levels of education as part of the process for the certification of educational institutions in Croatia. It also monitors the development and implementation of the Croatian National Educational Standard as a part of the national curriculum, as well as participating in the organization and implementation of student competitions and annual reviews.

Within its division for primary and secondary education, the AZOO employs advisors for the Croatian language as a school subject. In the context of its mandate to provide professional training and conferences for teachers, in 2007 the AZOO began holding annual symposia for teachers of Croatian. These are attended by a large number of teachers from the entire country (more than 450 at the 2010 meeting), and the papers from these symposia are published (as of 2013, three volumes have appeared, all under the editorship of AZOO advisors Marijana Češi and Mirela Barbaroša-Šikić). As a result, the presentations and discussions at these meetings potentially have a large impact on the teaching of Croatian in the schools through both their explicit and implicit expressions of language policy.

After the first symposium in 2007, the organizers circulated a statement of conclusions from the symposium among the participants, which was later published on the AZOO website and delivered to the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports as well as to institutions of higher education that train future teachers and to other organizations.

The draft[13] that was originally circulated to the participants emphasizes the importance of the Croatian language as 'the highest value and legacy of the Croatian nation on the path of preserving its identity and existence in the context of European integration'. It outlines a number of points that the participants want to bring to the attention of the relevant governmental bodies and institutions, including:

1. the necessity of prescribing a single orthographical handbook for schools (*školski pravopis*), which will be the only one used in all written activities connected with public education
2. the necessity of issuing a document in which all linguistic and theoretical literary concepts would be prescribed and which all authors of textbooks must adhere to, as well as providing for instruments and methods for the application and enforcement of this document
3. the enactment as soon as possible of a law on the use of the Croatian standard language
4. the necessity of standardizing linguistic and methodological terminology

[…]

8. the necessity of using the standard Croatian language in instruction at all levels of public education ('Zaključci Prvoga simpozija učitelja i nastavnika hrvatskoga jezika', 2007)

The emphasis on prescriptive norms seen in this document is understandable from a practical perspective: the situation at this time, with different orthographical principles in competing handbooks and different terminology used in various textbooks, made the job of Croatian teachers much more difficult. However, the statement about the use of the standard language in instruction at all levels, which can be understood as applying primarily to other subjects, must reflect a concern that other educators do not necessarily adhere to the linguistic standards that the teachers of Croatian themselves espouse, and the demand for a law regulating the Croatian language on the national level goes beyond the sphere of the educational system. While these conclusions may or may not reflect the opinions of the majority of the participants in the symposium, they may be assumed to conform with the official positions of the AZOO on these matters. They apparently manifest dissatisfaction with existing linguistic policies in the educational system; there appears to be a feeling that these policies are not effectively implemented and that a broader law on the use of the standard language is needed to help solve these problems.

The published proceedings of the symposia contain a number of articles that are directly concerned with attitudes towards the standard language and changes in its norms, among other articles about the teaching of Croatian literature and film, teaching methodology, and related educational issues. We will mention just a few of these here. Vilke (2007) speaks of the need to raise students' awareness of the harmfulness of the influx of foreign words into the Croatian language. Mihaljević (2007) is concerned with terminological synonymy and discrepancies among the terminological systems used in different textbooks, while Hudeček (2007) points out errors and inconsistencies in Croatian textbooks for the gymnasium level and in language handbooks. Jelaska (2007) discusses the introduction of the terms *istoznačnice* (based on the roots 'same' and 'meaning'), *bliskoznačnice* (from 'near' and 'meaning') and *suprotnice* ('opposites') in Croatian textbooks in place of the international terms *sinonimi* and *antonimi*. In her view, the new native terms are justified on the grounds that the primary goal of instruction is for students to develop communicative skills in the standard language; the intention is for students to understand the meanings of words and to learn the relationships among them in order to create stylistically varied texts, and not to master linguistic terminology. The native Croatian terms are consequently to be preferred because their meaning is transparent. However, her overall attitude towards the use of native versus international terms is seen in her statement that:

> For a reader without a well-developed feeling for the culture of the Croatian language, such forms might appear to be exaggerated Croatization, the puristic selection of Croatian words instead of internationalisms (*međunarodnica*), i.e. a puristic persecution of internationalisms (*internacionalizama*), as such a reader would more likely call them. (Jelaska 2007: 21–2)

Thus, in Jelaska's view, resistance to the substitution of native Croatian forms for internationalisms reflects a lack of linguistic culture. But as discussed above, the division of synonyms into two classes ('exact' and 'near' synonyms) causes methodological problems; many linguists would dispute the existence of complete synonymy of any two forms in a language, and in practical terms the treatment of *istoznačnice* and *bliskoznačnice* in textbooks shows that there is confusion about these categories.

One of the papers from the second symposium (Tadić 2008: 24–2) deals with the Croatian National Corpus (CNC) as a source of data for fundamental linguistic research. While this is not directly relevant for

the teaching of Croatian in the schools, it raises an interesting and important question. In describing the structure of the corpus, Tadić (2008: 28–9) explains that the year 1990 was chosen as the starting date for the corpus not because any marked change in the structure of the language took place at that time, but because the sociolinguistic situation changed as a result of the first multi-party elections and the subsequent declaration of independence. He goes on to say:

> For this reason the metaphor 'to breathe deeply of one's own language' is more than understandable to many, knowing how in the SFRY the forced convergence and unification of Croatian with Serbian was one of the forms of political oppression of the Croatian nation. The choice of 1990 as the earliest date of origin for texts that are included in the CNC is motivated precisely by these partly non-linguistic, but sociolinguistic reasons. (Tadić 2008: 28–9)

This corresponds with the view of many purists that texts from the previous decades of the 20th century cannot provide reliable models for the contemporary standard language, since they are seen as being tainted by Serbian influence. However, it is impossible to ignore important works of Croatian literature from before 1990 in the teaching of Croatian language and literature in the schools, and these cause difficulties for a rigidly purist approach to the language because they do not correspond to norms that have been promoted in the period after Croatian independence.

Hudeček (2010) gives an overview of contemporary orthographic manuals and their different approaches to the spelling of certain forms. Although she recognizes that these differences do not impede communication, she still argues for the need for consistency and, somewhat oddly, emphasizes problems in judging school competitions in the Croatian language as one of the important areas impacted by the current lack of agreement. She is particularly critical of the Matica hrvatska pravopis (Badurina, Marković, and Mićanović 2007), which does not accept specific spelling innovations in native Croatian words promoted in the BFM pravopis, and allows for more variation in the spelling of foreign names. She is also particularly concerned with terminological inconsistencies. Some of these involve a choice between a 'Croatian' term (*razgodci* 'punctuation') and an internationalism that had previously also been well established (*interpunkcijski znakovi* or *interpunkcija*), while others involve only minor differences in the form of certain terms (*trotočka/trotočje* 'ellipsis' and similar forms). The inconsistencies in question are actually

the result of the introduction of new terms (in these instances, *razgodci* and *trotočje*) into an already established terminological system. The problem is thus one that has been created by the very people who are most concerned about it. Despite their insistence on the use of these new terms in the educational system, which has now gone on for over 20 years, most speakers continue to prefer the previously established terminology.

We must point out, however, that not everyone involved in these symposia shares such purist views. The proceedings also include papers that reflect a more moderate approach to the standard language. For example, Barbaroša-Šikić and Češi (2010) state that the evaluation of written competency must be based on all aspects of the student's work, including content and style, and should not focus solely on grammatical and orthographic correctness. They are aware of the lack of agreement on orthographical and terminological questions, and believe that this variation must also be taken into account. Pranjković (2010b) is very critical of decisions in the BFM pravopis, in contrast to Hudeček (2010) above.

On the whole, the language of the texts in the published proceedings of these meetings shows a preference for forms that are recommended as being characteristic of 'good' Croatian usage, for native forms over internationalisms, for the longer adjective endings, and they typically follow the BFM pravopis. Most often, the extent of these tendencies corresponds directly to the attitudes toward the standard language explicitly expressed by the author in the paper. However, there are also noticeable inconsistencies; authors often use internationalisms interchangeably with native equivalents and sometimes apply principles from competing orthographic manuals to different forms (for example, Hudeček 2010 follows the BFM pravopis in spellings like *razgodci* but also writes *neću* instead of *ne ću*). Tadić (2008) provides a particularly interesting mixture of older versus newly recommended forms, of internationalisms and native expressions. He follows the BFM pravopis, as seen in spellings such as *podatci, pogrješka*, and uses a number of recommended Croatian forms (for example, *inačica* instead of *varijanta* 'variant', *uporaba* instead of *upotreba* 'use', *rabiti* and not *upotrebljavati* or *koristiti* 'to use', *razvidno* and not *jasno* 'clear'). At the same time, the author also uses a combination of Croatian and foreign terms in other places; for example, *računalna lingvistika* (instead of *računalno jezikoslovlje*) 'computational linguistics', *korpusna lingvistika* 'corpus linguistics', *www-sučelje* 'web interface'. The majority of terms connected with linguistics or computer technology used by the author are international, even when

there is a generally accepted Croatian equivalent (for example, *klijentski program* instead of *korisnički program* 'client program', *distribucija* instead of *raspodjela* 'distribution'). From this one may conclude that the author believes that in specialized terminology (computer science, in this case), internationalisms may be used, while in the general lexicon it is necessary to use 'more Croatian' lexical items.[14]

Since 2006, the Croatian Philological Society (Hrvatsko filološko društvo) and the Croatian Department (Odsjek za kroatistiku) at the University of Zagreb, with financial support from the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports, have been publishing a journal entitled *LAHOR*, which is dedicated to the teaching of Croatian as a first and second language. It includes scholarly articles about aspects of language acquisition as well as more practical articles discussing pedagogical issues, textbooks and other teaching materials, and so on. Of note here is the extremely consistent use of the 'purest' or 'best' Croatian in most of the articles. While this no doubt reflects the editorial policies of the journal and the interventions of language editors (*lektori*), and not necessarily the language that would otherwise be used by the individual authors, we may assume that this style of writing is intended to serve as a model for Croatian teachers, who are the audience for this publication. A cursory examination of the introductory article by the editor-in-chief and three articles in Vol. 1, No. 7 (2009) shows a consistent use of the BFM pravopis (for example, *predmetci* 'prefixes', *zadatci* 'assignments' [*zadacima* occurs once], *podatci* 'data', *postotci* 'percentages', *nedostatci* 'deficiencies', *pogrješke* 'mistakes', *vrjednovanje* 'evaluation', and so on) and a preference for native terminology and forms that are felt to be distinctively Croatian, although international terms are also used (for example, *sklonidba* 'declension', *slovnica* 'grammar', *nazivoslovlje* 'terminology', *raščlaniti* 'to analyze', *raščlamba* 'analysis', *čimbenik* 'factor', *kakvoća* 'quality', *poglavito* 'especially'). There is a strong preference for the longer definitive adjective endings *-oga, -omu, -ome*; they are used almost exclusively whenever an adjective stands alone (with no noun) and for the first adjective in a series, but even in phrases with multiple adjectives the longer endings are commonly used for all of them. For example, note the longer endings (underlined) in the following passages:

> Iako je bilo radova koji su ispitivali stavove sudionika o pojedinim vidovima jezika, članak Marka Alerića, svježega doktora znanosti s Filozofskoga fakulteta u Zagrebu i Tamare Gazdić-Alerić, asistentice na Učiteljskomu fakultetu u Zagrebu, bavi se dosad neistraženom

> temom u hrvatskomu: stavovima prema standardnomu idiomu vlastitoga jezika kao pojmu. (Jelaska 2009: 1)
>
> Raspravljat će se i o hrvatskim nazivima za pojmove iz interdisciplinarnih novijih područja kao što su vrjednovanje jezičnoga znanja, koje je sve važnije u razdoblju uspostavljanja Hrvatskoga nacionalnoga obrazovnoga standarda (Hnosa), vanjskoga vrjednovanja u osnovnim školama, uvođenja državne mature, prilagođavanja visokoškolskoga obrazovanja bolonjskome procesu. (Mihaljević 2009: 110)

In fact, *all* of the definite adjectives in Jelaska (2009) have the longer endings. In the same volume, Bjedov (2009) uses only two shorter definite endings, both of which are in the prepositional case (which traditionally used only the shorter endings). Alerić and Gazdić-Alerić (2009) and Mihaljević (2009) use a number of shorter endings (57 and 27, respectively), but most of these are in a series following another adjective.[15]

The influence of purism on teachers and students: survey data

In an effort to assess the effects of linguistic purism, we will consider data from several surveys. One of the authors of this work conducted two large surveys of teachers in 2000 and 2004 using written questionnaires.[16] In the first survey, the questionnaire was distributed to 400 primary and middle-school teachers at 80 schools in all regions of Croatia. The primary-school teachers are responsible for instruction in all subjects, while at the middle-school level the survey was directed specifically to teachers of Croatian language and literature. A total of 299 questionnaires were completed and returned. The second survey was conducted in the same manner, with 220 respondents. Both versions of the questionnaire included a set of sentences containing lexical doublets or grammatical variants, and respondents were instructed to choose the form they used in their everyday speech. The second section contained the same pairs of forms in a different order, and respondents were asked to circle the forms they considered to be standard (with explicit instructions that they could choose either one form or both). Finally, the teachers were given a series of eight statements about the Croatian language and asked to indicate their agreement on a five-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). No unique

identifying information was collected from the respondents, so that the data were anonymous. However, the directors of the various schools distributed the questionnaires to individual teachers, so we cannot rule out the possibility that they may have reviewed the answers themselves after the questionnaires were completed, or otherwise exerted some influence on the respondents. As a result, the teachers may not have always expressed their true opinions for fear of potential professional repercussions, but even in this case the information is valuable, since it would reflect what these teachers believe their supervisors expect of them. Even without any such overt interference, in a survey of this type, many teachers might also feel some pressure to give the expected or 'correct' response, rather than answering completely truthfully. In either case, the attitudes expressed would presumably be reflected in their teaching, whether or not they represent the respondents' actual personal opinions or behavior outside of the classroom.

The responses on the lexical/grammatical questions (57 pairs of forms in the first questionnaire and 58 in the second) generally show a preference for forms that have been recommended as 'better' by language purists. However, the responses vary substantially for individual pairs, with the distribution of answers suggesting that there is often a lack of agreement on which form should be considered 'correct'. There are some shifts in the responses from the 2000 survey to the one in 2004, but again the tendencies are different for different pairs, and in most instances are not statistically significant. We will illustrate this with a few examples (see Tables 9.1 and 9.2).[17]

Both forms in the pairs in Table 9.1 are in fact standard Croatian, according to sources such as Barić et al. (1999), Bujas (1999), Šonje (2000); the only difference is that one is a native word and the other is a foreign borrowing, and in some instances the borrowing is considered stylistically marked. However, *nadnevak* rather than *datum* is treated as stylistically marked in Bujas (1999), and Šonje (2000) has no stylistic comments for any of these words. It is therefore interesting to note that for all pairs except *nadnevak: datum*, only a minority of respondents (ranging from 22.4%–38.2%) indicated that both forms are standard. For the last four pairs in the table, the respondents exhibit a clear preference for the native form over the borrowing, both in terms of their perceived status and the reported usage. We should also note that all of these words are well established in Croatian usage over the preceding century, except for *nadnevak*, which is an archaic form that language purists have attempted to revive. Even so, about half of the

Table 9.1 Pairs consisting of a native Croatian form and a foreign borrowing

lexical pairs	2000 survey		2004 survey	
	form considered standard by respondent	**form normally used by respondent**	**form considered standard by respondent**	**form normally used by respondent**
'date'				
nadnevak	33.1% (99)	51.2% (153)	38.2% (84)	48.6% (107)
datum	14.7% (44)	42.8% (128)	9.5% (21)	45.9% (101)
both	51.2% (153)	6.0% (18)	51.4% (113)	5.0% (11)
no answer	1.0% (3)	0.0% (0)	0.9% (2)	0.5% (1)
'ensemble'				
sastav	62.2% (186)	64.9% (194)	64.1% (141)	62.7% (138)
ansambl	13.7% (41)	33.4% (100)	9.1% (20)	34.5% (76)
both	22.4% (67)	1.3% (4)	22.7% (50)	1.8% (4)
no answer	1.7% (5)	0.3% (1)	4.1% (9)	0.9% (2)
'(piece of) information, data'				
podatak	53.5% (160)	73.2% (219)	50.0% (110)	70.5% (155)
informacija	11.4% (34)	21.7% (65)	9.1% (20)	25.0% (55)
both	31.4% (94)	5.0% (15)	38.2% (84)	4.5% (10)
no answer	3.7% (11)	0.0% (0)	2.7% (6)	0.0% (0)
'organized'				
ustrojen	50.8% (152)	53.2% (159)	52.7% (116)	50.9% (112)
organiziran	16.7% (50)	43.5% (130)	20.0% (44)	46.4% (102)
both	29.8% (89)	3.0% (9)	24.5% (54)	0.9% (2)
no answer	2.7% (8)	0.3% (1)	2.7% (6)	1.8% (4)
'originality'				
izvornost	52.5% (157)	51.2% (153)	51.8% (114)	47.7% (105)
originalnost	12.7% (38)	43.5% (130)	8.6% (19)	45.9% (101)
both	32.1% (96)	4.0% (12)	37.3% (82)	4.1% (9)
no answer	2.7% (8)	1.3% (4)	2.3% (5)	2.3% (5)

respondents in both surveys report that they normally use *nadnevak* in their everyday speech.

In contrast with the set of words in Table 9.1, with the exception of *pozornost: pažnja* the second member of each pair in Table 9.2 (*spisak, učesnik, saučešće, zvanično*) is treated as non-standard by Barić

Table 9.2 Pairs consisting of two Slavic words

lexical pairs	2000 survey		2004 survey	
	form considered standard by respondent	form normally used by respondent	form considered standard by respondent	form normally used by respondent
'list'				
popis	68.6% (205)	87.0% (260)	67.7% (149)	86.4% (190)
spisak	6.7% (20)	11.4% (34)	5.9% (13)	11.8% (26)
both	23.7% (71)	1.7% (5)	23.6% (52)	0.9% (2)
no answer	1.0% (3)	0.0% (0)	2.7% (6)	0.9% (2)
'participant'				
sudionik	49.8% (149)	69.6% (208)	45.9% (101)	79.5% (175)
učesnik	23.4% (70)	28.8% (86)	21.8% (48)	19.5% (43)
both	26.1% (78)	1.7% (5)	31.4% (69)	0.5% (1)
no answer	0.7% (2)	0.0% (0)	0.9% (2)	0.5% (1)
'sympathy'				
sućut	71.9% (215)	86.6% (259)	71.4% (157)	84.5% (186)
saučešće	5.0% (15)	12.0% (36)	7.3% (16)	14.5% (32)
both	21.1% (63)	1.0% (3)	19.1% (42)	0.9% (2)
no answer	2.0% (6)	0.3% (1)	2.3% (5)	0.0% (0)
'officially'				
službeno	36.8% (110)	51.2% (153)	43.2% (95)	62.3% (137)
zvanično	39.8% (119)	46.8% (140)	33.6% (74)	34.5% (76)
both	20.4% (61)	1.7% (5)	20.9% (46)	1.4% (3)
no answer	3.0% (9)	0.3% (1)	2.3% (5)	1.8% (4)
'attention, care'				
pozornost	49.8% (149)	74.6% (223)	48.6% (107)	69.1% (152)
pažnja	12.4% (37)	21.1% (63)	15.0% (33)	28.6% (63)
both	36.1% (108)	3.7% (11)	35.5% (78)	2.3% (5)
no answer	1.7% (5)	0.7% (2)	0.9% (2)	0.0% (0)

et al. (1999), Bujas (1999), and Šonje (2000).[18] Moreover, the frequency dictionary by Moguš et al. (1999), which is based on a representative sample of Croatian texts from the period 1935–1977, shows that the corresponding forms *popis, sudionik, sućut, službeno* were already much more frequent than the 'Serbian' forms during much of the last century. This pattern is reflected fairly well in the teachers' reported usage. However, a surprisingly large number of the respondents (from 19% to

31%) still consider both members of these pairs to be standard Croatian, or indicate that the 'Serbian' form is the only standard one (23.4% and 21.8% for *učesnik*, and 39.8% and 33.6% for *zvanično*).

The lexeme *pozornost* and related forms have been singled out as distinctively Croatian words, and their usage has increased substantially in the period since 1991, compared with the data in Moguš et al. (1999) (see Chapter 10). *Pažnja* is still indisputably considered part of the standard lexicon, however, even though *pozornost* (or *pozor*) is recommended in certain contexts. In this example, the influence of purism can be clearly seen, with the respondents to the survey exhibiting a marked preference for *pozornost*, particularly in their reported usage.

Taken as a whole, the responses to the surveys indicate that there is a considerable amount of confusion among teachers about the standard status of many forms. They are clearly aware of the heavy promotion of 'native' Croatian forms by purists, and, as mentioned above, we would expect them to feel some pressure to give the 'correct' answers in a survey of this type. For example, based on our knowledge of contemporary Croatian usage, the fact that around 50% of the teachers in both surveys reported that they normally use the word *nadnevak* in their everyday speech is simply not credible. (Note that in corpus data from contemporary media sources, the usage of *nadnevak* relative to *datum* is less than 10% in all except the most extreme right-wing publications; see Chapter 10 and the Appendix). There may also be a bias against identifying more than one form as 'correct', despite the instructions in the questionnaire, which could explain the frequent failure of respondents to designate both members of the pairs in Table 9.1 as standard. At the same time, with pairs of words that are both Slavic in origin it may be difficult for people to judge whether a form is 'authentically Croatian' or not, hence the relatively high acceptance in Table 9.2 of forms that are considered by many sources to be non-standard.

The responses to the opinion questions in the last part of the questionnaire allow us to gauge teachers' attitudes towards the standard language, or alternatively, the beliefs that they think they should express. As with the lexical data, the differences in responses among different age groups, between primary versus secondary teachers, or between the two surveys, are generally not statistically significant and do not show any consistent trends. Therefore, in Table 9.3 we present only the aggregated results, and for the sake of simplicity we have also reduced the five-point Likert scale to three categories: agree = strongly agree or agree, neutral = neither agree nor disagree, disagree = strongly disagree or disagree. The total N for each question varies, since not all participants responded to every question.

Table 9.3 Attitudes toward the standard language

1. The majority of Croats on every occasion speak pure Croatian.

	2000 survey	**2004 survey**
disagree	76.4% (227)	72.4% (157)
neutral	10.1% (30)	12.4% (27)
agree	13.5% (40)	15.2% (33)

2. By speaking pure Croatian, Croats demonstrate their national consciousness.

	2000 survey	**2004 survey**
disagree	41.6% (123)	37.0% (81)
neutral	13.5% (40)	16.4% (36)
agree	44.9% (133)	46.6% (102)

3. I believe that all internationalisms should be replaced with words of Croatian origin.

	2000 survey	**2004 survey**
disagree	58.4% (173)	49.1% (107)
neutral	10.8% (32)	13.8% (30)
agree	30.7% (91)	37.2% (81)

4. I never use Serbianisms in my own speech.

	2000 survey	**2004 survey**
disagree	20.6% (59)	19.7% (43)
neutral	5.9% (17)	11.9% (26)
agree	73.4% (210)	68.3% (149)

5. I believe that the lexicon of the Croatian language has changed more in the last ten years than in the 50 years before that.

	2000 survey	**2004 survey**
disagree	20.3% (60)	14.5% (32)
neutral	10.2% (30)	14.5% (32)
agree	69.5% (205)	70.9% (156)

6. I can list at least ten certain grammatical differences between Croatian and Serbian.

	2000 survey	**2004 survey**
yes	69.8% (201)	72.6% (151)
no	3.1% (9)	3.4% (7)
not sure	27.1% (78)	24.0% (50)

7. In teaching one should use only words, expressions, and grammatical constructions that unquestionably belong to the pure Croatian language.		
	2000 survey	**2004 survey**
disagree	13.2% (39)	7.3% (16)
neutral	3.4% (10)	7.3% (16)
agree	83.4% (246)	85.5% (188)

8. I consider teachers to be important linguistic models for their pupils.		
	2000 survey	**2004 survey**
disagree	4.7% (14)	6.4% (14)
neutral	1.7% (5)	4.1% (9)
agree	93.6% (278)	89.5% (196)

As seen from the data in Table 9.3, the teachers on the whole appear generally receptive to the belief that there is such a thing as 'pure Croatian', which is clearly distinct from Serbian. While somewhat less than half agree with the idea that speaking pure Croatian is a sign of national consciousness (44.9% in the first survey and 46.6% in the second, Question 2), the majority are confident that they can identify differences between Croatian and Serbian and that they themselves never use Serbianisms (questions 4 and 6). Moreover, a high percentage (83.4% and 85.5%) believe that only unquestionably Croatian forms should be used in the classroom (question 7). However, most of the respondents in both surveys (76.4% and 72.4%) believe that most Croats do not always speak pure Croatian (question 1). A surprisingly large number (30.7% and 37.2%) agree with the statement that *all* international words should be eliminated from the language (question 3), a drastic change that would be impossible to achieve.

On the other hand, among current students at the university level, we find some evidence of resistance to purism. In a small informal survey of students in the South Slavic and English departments at the University of Zagreb conducted by one of the authors in January 2010, which focused on some of the newer terminology and spellings from current textbooks (for example, *slovnica* 'grammar', *glagolska osoba* 'verbal person', *rečenični razgodci* 'punctuation marks', spellings such as *zadatci* versus *zadaci*, and so on), the students showed a strong preference for the older/international forms. A larger survey of students conducted by Alerić and Gazdić-Alerić (2009), although it had a different focus and did not include examples of this type, provides additional

evidence of the difficulty of implementing changes in the standard language through the educational system. Their subjects were composed of university students specializing in Croatian, whose main opportunity for employment in their field of specialization is to become high-school Croatian teachers, as well as students in the Faculty of Teacher Education (Učiteljski fakultet), who are training to be primary or pre-school teachers. In a task in which they had to identify which sentences in a list contained grammatical or orthographic mistakes, the subjects only got 70% correct on average. They were not asked to identify the specific mistakes or to correct them, which would have made the task more difficult. In another task they were asked to write three sentences (of any length, with whatever content they chose), which they were certain contained absolutely no mistakes, and on average only 79% were able to do this. The future primary-school teachers scored the worst, with only 66% able to write three flawless sentences. Given the nature of the task, where the students could easily avoid anything about which they were uncertain, the numbers are rather surprising.[19] Only 71% of the students agreed with the statement that 'a standardized form of the language exists', and only 62% recognized that the standard variety differs to some extent from all local forms of the language. Finally, in their answers to questions about whether the standard language must be used in various contexts (in public speech, on radio and TV, in schools and universities, in official written communication, or in newspapers and magazines), the percentage who answered in the affirmative ranged from 69% to 99%. These results indicate a significant disparity between the knowledge and beliefs about the standard language held by future teachers and the views promoted in the national curriculum and in textbooks.

Conclusion

Official policies within the state educational system have clearly promoted spellings, grammatical forms, and lexical items that are viewed as being symbolically Croatian, as can be seen in national curricular standards, in programs and materials aimed at Croatian language teachers, and in textbooks. Particularly important is the explicit promotion of a particular language ideology through the emphasis on language as a symbol of national identity. Language policymakers are aware of the potential of the educational system to shape attitudes about the standard language and to bring about changes in its norms. At the same time, however, there are significant inconsistencies in usage (both in

textbooks, as shown here, and in the classroom, according to anecdotal reports) and in the evaluation of the standard status of specific forms on the part of teachers. The promotion of orthographic and lexical changes over the last 20 years has left many people uncertain as to what should be considered standard, and there is also a significant amount of resistance to abandoning linguistic habits that were well established in the 20th century. To some extent, inconsistencies may also be due to ambiguities in the curricular and textbook standards themselves, which give only vague statements about avoiding 'unnecessary' foreign words, for example. We must also keep in mind that the students are not necessarily receptive to rigid prescriptions about proper usage, particularly if these differ from what they encounter outside of the classroom. While educational policies will no doubt influence patterns of standard usage and attitudes towards the standard language for current and future generations of students, the extent to which changes can be successfully implemented remains uncertain.

10

The Media and the Message: The Promotion and Implementation of Language Planning in Print, Broadcasts, and on the Internet

The role of the media in language standardization and language planning

Given the extent to which the mass media permeate modern society, one would intuitively assume that they must play a key role in the codification and dissemination of the norms of standard languages, as well as in shaping attitudes towards these languages among their communities of users. However, the situation is complex, and the media may be simultaneously viewed both as models of standard usage and as corrupters of those standards. In the Croatian context, Hudeček and Mihaljević state in their textbook *The language of the media: The journalistic functional style* (*Jezik medija: Publicistički funkcionalni stil*, 2009: 7) that 'the mass media have a great influence on the linguistic culture of every individual'. According to them, while norms of usage can be best verified in the language of journalism, at the same time established norms are also most easily 'destroyed' in this style (10). These authors lament the state of the language in the Croatian media, the lack of respect for its norms, and the numerous mistakes that can be observed at all linguistic levels. They assert that journalists:

> should use language that is consistent with the demands of the norms of the standard language and should be conscious of their responsibility, which is a result of the fact that readers, listeners, and viewers every day follow their language and that many of them form their linguistic consciousness in this way. (Hudeček and Mihaljević 2009: 10–11)

Benedict Anderson pointed out the importance of the emergence of print-capitalism for the development of national languages and the

'imagined community' of the nation. Newspapers played a key role because of the shared daily ritual of reading the same text by large numbers of people throughout the entire language community (Anderson 1983: 38–40). As languages became standardized and literacy increased, newspapers gave people daily contact with the standard language. The development of radio and television broadcasting exposed people to spoken norms, and even if it did not necessarily lead to the elimination of dialectal differences, it meant that the broader population at least became familiar with the standard pronunciation (see Wright 2004: 39–40). However, Milroy and Milroy (1985: 29) argue that the promotion of the standard language through the media or other centralized systems is not as successful as is widely thought. According to them, the media are generally more effective in spreading awareness of changes than in promoting their actual adoption by speakers of the language. But while there is little evidence to show that widespread exposure to the mass media necessarily reduces variation in everyday usage, the media do still promote awareness of the standard language and its norms, as well as maintaining its position of prestige (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 30–1). In addition, the fact that newspapers and other media outlets typically employ copy editors and follow house-style guidelines gives an impression that the standard language is highly uniform, even though this is not characteristic of the usage even of highly educated individuals (Cameron 1995: 39). These practices help foster the attitude (also promoted in standard dictionaries, grammars, and textbooks) that the standard language represents a monolithic whole, in which there are sharp distinctions between correct and incorrect usage.

Cameron (1995) develops the notion that there exists a popular culture of language, and that language users in general are interested precisely in questions of 'right' vs 'wrong', 'good' vs 'bad' usage. She argues that prescriptivism is in this sense 'natural', since all varieties of language are subject to some type of normative regulation by their users, even if this is not in the form of explicit codification seen in standard languages (Cameron 1995: 5). The media are an important venue for concerns about correct usage, as shown by the fact that language advice columns or broadcasts are frequently offered as regular features and enjoy a significant degree of popularity (for example, William Safire's *New York Times Magazine* column 'On Language', which ran from 1979 until his death in 2009). The same can be seen in Croatia, where attention to questions concerning the norms of the standard language became particularly prominent in the media after Croatian independence in 1991.

The state of the media in Croatia since 1991

Ownership and/or other types of control over the media obviously allow for control over the content, including the language used. In socialist Yugoslavia, the media functioned as a propaganda tool of the government. All media outlets were under the direct control of the state, and the Communist Party closely monitored what was reported and how it was reported (Malović and Selnow 2001: 53, 65). In addition to presenting the views of the regime about political, economic, and social issues, the media were expected to adhere to policies promoting a single Serbo-Croatian language. Although there were periods of liberalization when some limited degree of freedom was granted, they were inevitably followed by the retightening of controls. Weakening of the central government after Tito's death meant primarily a greater degree of power exercised by local party leaders. Only at the very end of the socialist period was private ownership of media outlets finally allowed by the Marković law on privatization (Malović and Selnow 2001: 114).

Freedom of the press and other media of communication was included in the Croatian constitution adopted in December 1990, and the variety and availability of print and other media after Croatia's declaration of independence in 1991 gave the superficial appearance of the media as an open marketplace of ideas (Malović and Selnow 2001: 4). However, the reality was quite different. The government still controlled almost all of the main national and regional newspapers, the major printing plants, the primary distribution network for print media (Tisak), as well as the only nationwide TV channels. In this respect, the situation had not changed significantly from the period under socialist rule, although the political orientation was now different and the government no longer had the same degree of control over the work of journalists.

Although some media outlets were nominally privatized in the 1990s, ownership was often transferred to members or supporters of the ruling HDZ party through transactions of dubious legitimacy, sometimes involving shell corporations whose ownership was purposely obscure. As of 1999, the state was still the majority owner of a large segment of the media, including: the daily newspapers *Vjesnik, Glas Slavonije,* and *Slobodna Dalmacija*; several other weeklies and magazines; the main national press agency HINA; and Croatian Radio and Television (HRT: three channels of TV and three of radio). An HDZ-controlled offshore company owned a majority stake of the daily paper with the largest circulation, *Večernji list*. The Catholic Church, which has close ties with the HDZ, owned a news agency, the weekly paper *Glas Koncila*,

and a national Catholic radio station (see Malović and Selnow 2001: 152 for an overview of media ownership). Punitive legal actions, denials of licenses, and other means were used to restrain independent media organizations and individual journalists who were too critical of the government. One of the most famous examples is that of the satirical weekly paper *Feral Tribune*, which was hit with numerous lawsuits, including one filed by then President Tuđman against the editor-in-chief and one reporter. At one point, the state media distribution agency Tisak was also withholding half-a-million dollars of sales revenue from *Feral Tribune* (Malović and Selnow 2001: 5–6, 169–70). During this period, the media were largely divided into two categories: the so-called 'state-building' (*državotvorni*) media, supportive of the HDZ, and the independent media, which were in fierce opposition to the government (Peruško 2007: 233).

After a coalition of opposition parties won a large majority in the 2000 elections, media policies were liberalized and the quality and diversity of the media improved. Most print media are now privately owned, although there are new concerns due to the concentration of ownership in two large corporations: Europa Press Holding/WAZ and Styria Media Group AG. There are now two privately owned general television channels that broadcast nationwide, but the government continues to control the public HRT network, which has kept its dominant position in the market, and there continue to be concerns about government influence over the content of broadcasts. Similar problems have been seen with the national news agency, HINA (Hrvatska izvještajna novinska agencija), which is the source of many reports carried by other news outlets. Appointments to the managing council have been criticized as being based on political considerations rather than qualifications, and there have been procedural irregularities in the operations of the council.[1]

Language in the media and the language of the media in the independent Croatian state

Any pressure to promote a unified Serbo-Croatian language in the Croatian media naturally ended after the collapse of the former Yugoslavia. Now there was instead a noticeable tendency to promote the distinctiveness of Croatian as a separate language. Forms that had previously been disfavored because they were seen as being specific to Croatian could now be used freely, and others that had more or less completely fallen out of use were revived. Certain media outlets,

especially those with a 'state-building' slant, strongly favored the usage of such distinctively Croatian forms. In addition to changes in the language of articles and broadcasts themselves, material about the Croatian language, particularly advice on questions of usage, has been frequently featured in the media since 1991. We will consider these types of articles and broadcasts first.

Language advice in the media

It would be misleading to attribute the numerous columns or broadcasts offering advice on correct usage in Croatia solely to the surge in nationalist sentiment associated with Croatian independence and the ensuing war. As noted above, questions of what constitutes 'good' or 'proper' usage are of popular interest and are frequently addressed in the media around the world. Columns devoted to linguistic issues were published in Croatia during the Yugoslav period as well. However, regularly appearing features offering such advice became especially prominent in Croatia in the 1990s, and they have often been concerned with the status of Croatian and differences between Croatian and Serbian. These columns and broadcasts frequently discuss pairs of synonymous or nearly synonymous words, recommending one of the two lexical items because it is seen as 'better' and/or more typical for Croatian, but they also deal with grammatical forms and other linguistic topics. To cite some specific examples of such language advice in the media, the newspaper *Vjesnik* ran a column entitled 'Vjesnik's language advisor' (*Vjesnikov jezični savjetnik*) from 1994–1996 (around 600 articles, according to Wingender 1997); similar columns by Franjo Tanocki and Stjepan Babić appeared regularly in *Glas Slavonije* and *Hrvatsko slovo*, respectively, around the same time; from 2000–2003, Dalibor Brozović dispensed advice and opinions on the standard language in the cultural magazine *Vijenac* in his column 'First person singular' (*Prvo lice jednine*); and *Večernji list* published a column by Alemko Gluhak, 'Words about words' (*Riječi o riječima*), from 1998–2001.[2] Croatian Radio (HR 1) has been broadcasting *We speak Croatian* (*Govorimo hrvatski*) since 1992, and Radio Sljeme has offered *Our everyday Croatian* (*Hrvatski naš svagdašnji*) since 1993. Other series have appeared on Croatian Television, such as *Words, words, words* (*Riječi*, *riječi*, *riječi*), *Croatian in the mirror* (*Hrvatski u zrcalu*), *Language-ometer* (*Jezikomjer*), *On the tip of the tongue* (*Navrh jezika*), and *Language for everybody* (*Jezik za svakoga*).[3] In many cases, language advice from these print or broadcast series has been collected and republished (for example, Tanocki 1994; *Jezični savjeti* 1995; Dulčić 1997; Nikić-Ivanišević et al. 2004; Brozović 2005).

As examples of the typical issues that are discussed and the discourse used in such language features, we can examine the texts from *We speak Croatian* (*Govorimo hrvatski*) published in Dulčić (1997). This volume contains 331 texts selected from the segments that were broadcast from 1992–1997. Since its publication, it has been used as a reference by journalists at HRT, so it has probably been more influential than some of the other collections of this type. Virtually all of the authors are professional linguists working in Croatian universities or research institutes. The texts are organized into ten sections: Differential questions (that is, differences between Croatian and Serbian usage); General linguistic questions; Terminological questions (which are also often concerned with differences between Croatian and Serbian); Christian terminology; Grammatical questions; Word-formation questions; Orthographic questions; Redundancies and 'stupid mistakes' (*priglupnice*); Questions of Latinity; and English 'temptresses' (*napasnice*). In many ways, the advice is no different from what one would expect to encounter anywhere in this context. The authors typically point out what they consider to be common mistakes or other examples of poor usage (for example, pleonasms such as *sići dolje* 'to descend down' or *no međutim* 'but however', grammatical mistakes in the declension of numbers or subject-verb agreement, and so on) and discuss examples where the norms may be unclear (for example, hyphenation or capitalization of specific words). They usually take a prescriptivist stance, concluding that a certain form or construction is 'better', 'correct', 'should/must be used', and so on, with or without giving explicit justification.[4]

However, running throughout much of the advice in this collection we find a specific thread of concern with 'Croatianness' (*hrvatskost*), as seen in the first article in the volume:

> How can we truly judge whether a certain word is good or not? How can we measure the Croatianness of a word? […] The only measure of the Croatianness of a word is the use of this word in the Croatian language, from ancient times until today. If for a certain word we have evidence that it was completely ordinary in the Croatian language in the 19th, 18th, 17th century, or even earlier, we cannot just so lightly discard such a word from the Croatian language of today. (Dulčić 1997: 7)[5]

The authors typically cite various sources that are considered to be authoritative for earlier attestations of given words (for example, the Academy dictionary or older dictionaries from the period before the language was

completely standardized) and for their etymological origins (Skok 1971). They also refer frequently to language handbooks, including Brodnjak's (1991) differential dictionary. In connection with the historical tradition of Croatian usage, purism is cited as a characteristic feature of the language over time: 'The aspiration towards linguistic purity is an enduring characteristic of the Croatian language. It was manifested especially in the Romantic period. In accordance with Serbian standards, purism began to be seen negatively also among us, but moderate purism is completely in harmony with the Croatian tradition' (Dulčić 1997: 8–9).

In discussions of individual forms, reference is often made to changes that took place in the language after 1918, which are described as the introduction of 'unnecessary' Serbian words (including words borrowed from Russian or Church Slavic into Serbian) or the 'imposition' of Serbian forms. For example, in a discussion of the word *spisak* 'list' we find:

> Many Russian words entered the Croatian language due to its openness to other Slavic languages before 1918. Some of them achieved their place and became an inseparable part of the Croatian lexical fund. There are many more Russian borrowings in Serbian than in Croatian, so they attempted to introduce many unneeded Serbian Russianisms also into the Croatian language during the time of *leveling according to Serbianness*. There is no place in the Croatian language for such words. One should treat them in the same way as the ordinary, unnecessary Serbianisms that were imposed on us. (Dulčić 1997: 31)

In all such instances, the author recommends the usage of the form that is seen as more characteristic of Croatian, often describing it as an 'old and beautiful' or 'old and good' Croatian word, or simply as 'our' word. Even in cases where both forms have historically been used in Croatian, there is a preference for forms that are exclusively Croatian. In a discussion of *porijeklo* vs *podrijetlo* 'origin', after explaining their origins and stating that both forms are used in Croatian, the author concludes:

> But the latter form [*podrijetlo*] is *ours alone*. Now when we can freely choose, when we can weigh which form suits us better, when from the riches of the Croatian lexical fund we can select for the norm that which is only ours and thus create differences from our eastern neighbors – let's choose what is our own. Thus, *podrijetlo*. (Dulčić 1997: 123)

Another characteristic of the Croatian language that has often been cited is a tendency toward differentiation of meaning or function (referred to as *razlikovnost*), particularly in reference to distinctions that are not typically made in Serbian. For example, in a discussion of the verbs *naručiti* 'to order (something)' and *poručiti* 'to send a message', we find:

> The Serbian language doesn't distinguish the meaning of these two verbs. More precisely, the Serbian language doesn't have the verb *naručiti* or its derivatives. For this reason in the time of our shared life together there was some confusion. There was a desire to erase this semantic difference in Croatian as well, so that one word would take over both functions, and everyone knows which word – the one that we have in common with Serbian. (Dulčić 1997: 54)[6]

This lack of differentiation of forms and meanings is sometimes even interpreted as a sign of laxness or 'Balkan slovenliness' on the part of the Serbian language, and by implication the Serbian people as well.[7] In another segment discussing the variants *zatiljak/potiljak* 'back of the head', the author concludes that *zatiljak* has historically been the preferred form in Croatian, and *potiljak* in Serbian. He goes on to say:

> In the choice between these two prefixes is manifested an intrinsic characteristic of the Croatian language – differentiation. It's not all the same to the Croatian language whether something is precise or not, it does not tolerate disorder and careless improvisations; […] Namely, the prefix *za-* before *tiljak* is more correct; it designates that something is behind something else, which *zatiljak* is because it is spatially behind the top of the head (*tiljak*), and not temporally after (*po*) the top of the head. The Croatian form, therefore, is only *zatiljak*. (Dulčić 1997: 21)

The subtext here, of course, is that the Serbian language *does* tolerate 'disorder and careless improvisations'. Obviously, this characterization of Croatian as more precise or more discriminating than Serbian has no basis in fact. No language exhibits a perfect one-to-one correspondence of form and meaning, and language usage is universally characterized by semantic slipperiness.

In a number of places, the authors also comment on the fact that changes have taken place in the language since 1990, and that speakers have become more attentive to the language they use. For example,

one contributor writes: 'Almost every day we are witnesses to the efforts of our speakers to shape their utterances in the spirit of the Croatian language and to carefully choose words. Many times on the street, in the tram, I've happened to hear instructions about how one should speak and what is Croatian' (Dulčić 1997: 140). The author goes on to cite examples on TV when the announcer has corrected himself or herself mid-sentence, switching to a 'more Croatian' expression. At the same time, contributors also warn of mistaken attempts to brand certain words as Serbian. One notes that people often mistakenly think that if 'Serbian has the same word, that means that we got it from Serbian, that this word was forced upon us Croats' (Dulčić 1997: 7). Another notes that those who are not well versed in the history of the language sometimes mistakenly adopt a form that is more typical of Serbian in their zeal to purify the language: 'The criterion seems to be as follows: that which is rare is surely older, was banned earlier, and so we should rehabilitate it in our speech' (Dulčić 1997: 13). The author discusses the example of *podozrenje* 'suspicion, doubt', which some people have promoted as the 'better' form, but which he points out is actually of Russian origin and was never widely adopted in Croatian usage.

Studies of the language advice column in the newspaper *Vjesnik* by Wingender (1997) and Czerwiński (2005) have yielded similar conclusions. The topics discussed fall into the same general categories: the relationship of Croatian to Serbian and to other foreign languages, questions of terminology, and the need to avoid excessive purism, as well as more mundane questions of correct usage. These scholars also noted the same general tenor of the discourse that we have seen in the selections from the radio broadcast *Govorimo hrvatski*. In his analysis of columns from 1994–1995, Czerwiński (2005: 137) shows that of those discussing lexical questions, the author recommends one form because it is 'more Croatian' in 64% of the articles (56/87); in most of the remaining instances the author points to semantic or stylistic differences between the forms in question (19/87). In only four of the articles does the author propose a neologism as a replacement. As with the contributors to *Govorimo hrvatski*, the general tendency is to promote features that are seen as typically Croatian, but the authors usually try to justify their choices on the basis of traditional Croatian usage and warn against indiscriminate efforts to differentiate the language from Serbian; they advocate what they see as a moderate, rather than excessive, form of purism (see Chapter 8).

The language of the traditional media

The print and broadcast media in Croatia, as is also the case in other countries, normally have in-house policies governing style and usage, and employ editors to proofread texts and ensure that they follow these guidelines. The situation in Croatia is somewhat unique due to the role of a special type of editorial assistants, known as *lektori,* who are copy editors employed specifically to enforce adherence to linguistic norms in a narrow sense, and not to simultaneously carry out other editorial tasks. These positions also existed during the Yugoslav period, but they functioned somewhat differently at that time. According to Ivo Žanić (personal communication), who worked from 1980–1989 first as a *lektor*, and then as a general editor of the daily paper *Večernji list*, many of the articles would arrive from the Yugoslav state news agency Tanjug written in Serbian, and the typists employed by the publishing house would change them from ekavian to ijekavian, as well as replacing typical Serbian lexical items with the Croatian equivalents that were treated as standard at that time. The *lektori* then would make any additional changes that were needed, focusing mainly on syntax or style. There were certain Croatian forms that were unofficially proscribed (for example, *Brijuni* as opposed to *Brioni*, for the Brijuni Islands, the summer residence of Tito), and the *lektori* would take care to avoid these. But while language was certainly politicized at that time, according to Žanić the transformation of *lektori* into a type of 'language police' in the 1990s was a completely new development. There have been numerous discussions and complaints about *lektori* making texts 'more Croatian' by enforcing a rigid purism, either because of the policies of the organizations where they work or because of their own ideas about the standard language. The journal *Vijenac* devoted a special section to this topic in one of its issues, which was later published separately (Hekman 2005).

Depending on the particular media outlet and the type of article or broadcast segment, the in-house editorial policies may be applied more strictly or loosely. In most cases, internal style manuals and editorial practices are intentionally kept behind the scenes, so evidence can be gleaned only from examining the usage in the actual publications or broadcasts themselves. However, in the case of HRT, there is an entire department dealing with issues of language, the Service for Language and Speech (Služba za jezik i govor, founded in 1991), which has a certain public presence. The HRT website formerly included information on the Service for Language and Speech, which is responsible for ensuring the quality of the language used in broadcasts and for training the network's journalists and announcers, as well as overseeing HRT's

various broadcasts devoted to linguistic issues. Its founder and director for many years, Jasmina Nikić, occasionally discussed the work of the Service in interviews (for example, Nikić 2003). More recently, the Service announced a special language workshop for HRT journalists, with a focus on eradicating the most common mistakes and on reducing the use of anglicisms and other foreign words ('HRT-ovi novinari uče kako se pravilno izražavati' [HRT's journalists are learning how to express themselves correctly], 2010).

HRT also published its own usage guide (Krmpotić 1992),[8] which was intended primarily for internal use but was also available for purchase by others. According to the preface, this handbook was created to ensure that HRT would be a model of proper usage:

> Conscious of its power of promotion, HRT must contribute to the development of the Croatian language, nurture its spoken expression, and promote linguistic culture. For this reason the Service for Development and Training of Personnel has published this pocket-sized language handbook, so that those who create programming, participate in it, or report for it can always have a suitable professional support by their side. (Krmpotić 1992: 10)

However, rather than serving as a general guide to standard usage, the real focus of the book is on eliminating supposed Serbian elements from the Croatian language, as indicated by Krmpotić's assertion in the preface that 'Croatian Radio-Television must liberate itself from all non-Croatian features, including linguistic ones' (1992: 10). The first part of the handbook consists of a discussion of differences between Croatian and Serbian, which are presented in absolute terms; for example, 'In Serbian shorter forms of pronouns are used in the genitive/accusative and dative/locative, and in Croatian longer forms' (Krmpotić 1992: 66). The text lists forms such as *koga, kom(e), mog(a), mom(e)* as 'Serbian', and *kojega, kojem(u), mojeg(a), mojem(u)* as 'Croatian', although both the contracted and non-contracted forms are possible in both standard languages (see Barić et al. 1995: 212; Hammond 2005: 190). The second half of the handbook is a differential dictionary, with supposedly 'Serbian' entries in the left column and Croatian replacements on the right. This section is just as categorical in its approach as the first part, and just as problematic. For example, it describes as 'Serbian' some words that clearly belong to the sphere of neutral standard usage in Croatian (for example, *duplja* 'burrow, hole', *krajnji* 'final'), and at the same time needlessly lists words that are at best regionalisms that no

educated Croatian speaker would be likely to use in contexts where the standard language is expected (for example, *isparčati* 'break, tear into pieces'). There are also inconsistencies, where the same or related word forms are given as Serbian in one place and Croatian in another. As noted in a highly critical review of this work by Babić (1993: 18), who is himself a proponent of purism, the acceptance of this handbook as a guide for radio and television would bring more damage than benefit to the Croatian language. In fact, although the publication of this handbook indicates that there must have been some efforts to introduce a rigid form of purism in HRT in the early 1990s, there is no evidence that its recommendations were ever strictly applied.

Although the language used in the Croatian media since 1990 has been discussed by a number of scholars, their comments are mostly anecdotal or impressionistic in nature. While native-speaker intuitions about changing patterns of usage are valuable, there is a natural tendency to notice forms that seem new or unusual, while the frequency of competing forms may not be fully appreciated.[9] The need for corpus data to verify the accuracy of such impressions has been recognized by a number of scholars, who have published results of their own corpus-based research (Langston 1999; Grčević 2001 [Croatian version 2002a, shortened English version 2002b]; Rittgasser 2003; Czerwiński 2005). These studies provide valuable information about patterns of usage, but they are all limited by the nature of the corpora that were used.[10] In order to provide a more complete picture of trends and changes in the usage of various forms, we will compare some of the previously published data with data from the Croatian National Corpus (CNC, available online)[11] and a corpus compiled by one of the authors of this work (described below and in Langston 2008).

As in the previous research mentioned above, we have identified a number of pairs (occasionally triplets) of synonymous or nearly synonymous words that have been discussed in language advice features in the media or in handbooks, or for which changes in usage have been noted by commentators. In each pair, one of the forms is recommended by some or all sources as the preferred neutral standard usage, while the other form (which is often a foreign borrowing, but also may be a Slavic form seen as more typical of Serbian usage) is described variously as stylistically marked, non-standard, or non-Croatian. Since some periodicals are included in more than one of the corpora consulted, the graphs below show data for selected forms from the corpus with the largest sample size; the complete data are listed in the Appendix. Previous research (Langston 1999; Czerwiński 2005) has shown that

there are noticeable differences in the language used in the 'state-building' (more conservative/nationalist) media and the independent (opposition/liberal) media, so the sources are grouped accordingly. The former category includes *Večernji list, Glas Slavonije, Vjesnik, Hrvatsko slovo*, and *Fokus*, with *Hrvatsko slovo* and *Fokus* being at the far-right end of the political spectrum. *Večernji list* has a more popular, tabloid-like style, and its language is consequently less formal than some of the others. Data from the Mannheim Croatian Corpus (MCC, taken from Grčević 2002b) are also included with this group; this corpus is based on texts from *Vjesnik, Večernji list, Hrvatsko slovo* and *Slobodna Dalmacija*, another 'state-building' newspaper, from the years 1997–1999. Of the independent periodicals, *Feral Tribune* is politically to the left of *Nacional*. *Vijenac* is a cultural weekly published by the Matica hrvatska; its political orientation was more or less centrist (or center-right) during this period, and the writing is generally more careful in style than that of *Feral Tribune* or *Nacional*. Information on the media sources is summarized in Table 10.1.

Unfortunately, there are no truly comparable sources that can be used to investigate earlier patterns of usage in the media. Šojat (1983) compiled a frequency dictionary based on texts from *Vjesnik* and *Večernji list* from 1980, but the sample size is small (130,000 words); for less frequent words, the relative frequency of members of the pairs examined here can easily be skewed by one or two occurrences which might prove to be atypical given a larger sample. More representative

Table 10.1 Sources of media data used here

Publication	Years	Source	Size of corpus
Feral Tribune	2001–2002	Langston corpus	0.6m words
Nacional	1997–2000	CNC version 2.0	6.9m words
*Vijenac**	2001–2002	Langston corpus	1.5m words
Večernji list	1999	CNC version 2.0	2.2m words
Glas Slavonije	2002–2005	CNC version 2.0	17m words
Vjesnik	2000–2003	CNC version 2.0	46.6m words
Hrvatsko slovo	2001–2002	Langston corpus	0.5m words
Fokus	2003–2005	CNC version 2.0	2.7m words
various (all right-leaning)	1997–1999	MCC	14m words

Note: *Although *Vijenac* is also represented in the CNC (15 million words), at the time when this research was conducted it was not available as a searchable subcorpus, so we relied on our own smaller sample here.

of written Croatian usage in general before the last decade of the 20th century is the frequency dictionary compiled under the general editorship of Moguš (1999). This dictionary is based on a sample of 1m words drawn from different genres, including 200,000 words from newspapers (*Vjesnik, Večernji list, Slobodna Dalmacija, Novi list, Glas Slavonije* and the Zagreb edition of *Borba* from 1975 and 1977). Texts in the rest of this corpus cover the period from 1935–1977. Although this work is not limited to the language of the media, it can be taken as a reasonably reliable indicator of the distribution of forms in written Croatian prior to 1991.

In comparing the lexical pairs here, the frequency of each form will be expressed as a percentage of the total number of occurrences of the competing forms combined, on the assumption that they are synonymous and that either one could be used in a given context. While this is not entirely accurate, it is the only feasible way to make these comparisons, and we believe that it is an acceptable approximation for gauging changes in usage. The frequency dictionaries consulted to determine earlier usage do not distinguish between potentially different meanings of a given word or provide any context, and examination of each individual context to determine the precise meaning is not practical for the large searchable corpora used here. Since such differences are ignored for all sources, the data are comparable in this respect. Note also that the differences in corpus size may sometimes skew the relative frequency of the forms in question. While these factors make the comparison here less than ideal, these data still allow us to observe changes in the relative frequency of the individual members of these lexical pairs.

In our data, we can identify a number of pairs in which the form recommended in recent language handbooks predominates in the media today, and represents a marked shift from earlier patterns of usage; for example, *delegat* (FEM *delegatkinja*)*: izaslanik* (FEM *izaslanica*) 'delegate' (Figure 10.1). Other pairs with similar changes in usage in recent decades include *advokat: odvjetnik* 'lawyer' (here the shift is already reflected in Šojat 1983), *nivo: razina* 'level', *oficir: časnik* 'officer', *protest: prosvjed* 'protest', *sekretar* (FEM *sekretarica*)*: tajnik* (FEM *tajnica*) 'secretary', *sistem: sustav* 'system' (see the Appendix for these data).

As noted by other scholars, these changes may apply not just to individual lexical items, but also to different word-formation types, such as the agentive suffixes *– lac* and *– telj*; for example, *gledalac: gledatelj* 'viewer, spectator' (Figure 10.2). Although the liberal *Feral Tribune* is an

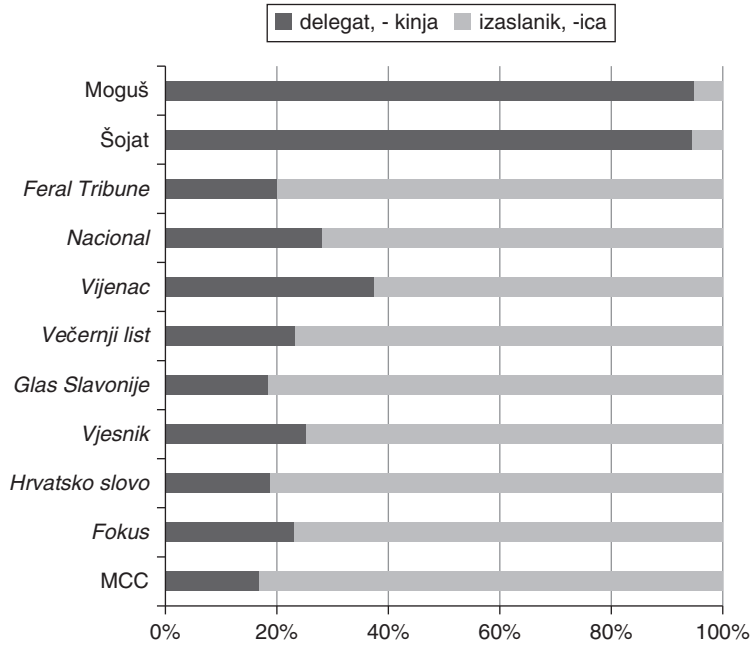


Figure 10.1 Usage of *delegat* vs *izaslanik* 'delegate'

outlier among the recent sources, even there the form *gledatelj* occurs about half of the time, showing a marked change from earlier usage as attested in Moguš (1999) and Šojat (1983). Similar patterns are seen for other competing forms with these suffixes, such as *posjetilac: posjetitelj* 'visitor'.

Another change that has been nearly universally adopted is the spelling *Europa, europski* 'Europe, European' instead of *Evropa, evropski* (the same applies to all related derivatives). Historically, in forms borrowed from Greek, the sequence *eu* was typically adapted as *ev* in Serbian, but retained as *eu* in Croatian; however, the spellings with *v* became the standard forms in Croatia during the period of linguistic unification. The spellings *Europa, europski* are not attested at all in the frequency dictionaries by Moguš or Šojat, but are used more than 95% of the time in all of the recent media sources except for *Feral*, which continued to show a preference for the standard spelling from the Yugoslav period.[12]

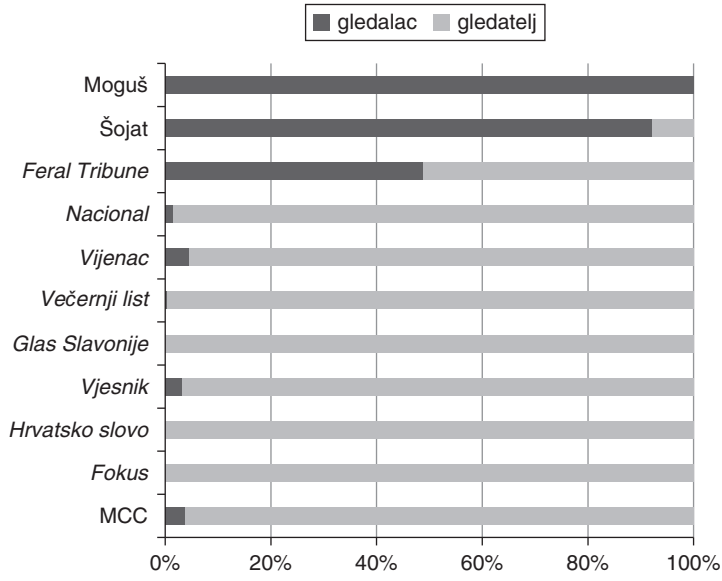


Figure 10.2 Usage of *gledalac* vs *gledatelj* 'viewer'

In some of the lexical pairs, the recommended Croatian form was already used frequently, but is much more strongly preferred now; for example, *muzika: glazba* 'music' (Figure 10.3). Other examples of this type are *budžet: proračun* 'budget', *firma: tvrtka* 'firm', *penzija: mirovina* 'pension', *period: razdoblje* 'period', *saučešće: sućut* 'sympathy', *utisak: dojam* 'impression'.

Other pairs show more variation in recent usage, where the recommended form is favored strongly in the 'state-building' media, but the other form is still frequently used in the independent/liberal press; for example, *avion: zrakoplov* 'airplane' (Figure 10.4). Additional examples of this type are *atmosfera: ozračje* 'atmosphere', *biografija: životopis* 'biography', *faktor: čimbenik* 'factor', *izvještaj: izvješće* 'report', *pažnja: pozornost* 'attention', *prisutnost: nazočnost* 'presence', *upotreba: uporaba/poraba* 'use'.

Despite clear evidence of changes in the frequency of some lexical items that are seen as 'pure Croatian' forms, there are many other such words that have been promoted in language handbooks and language-advice features in the media that have not been widely adopted. Ignoring various neologisms and other truly marginal forms that most speakers are probably not even aware of, we may identify some words

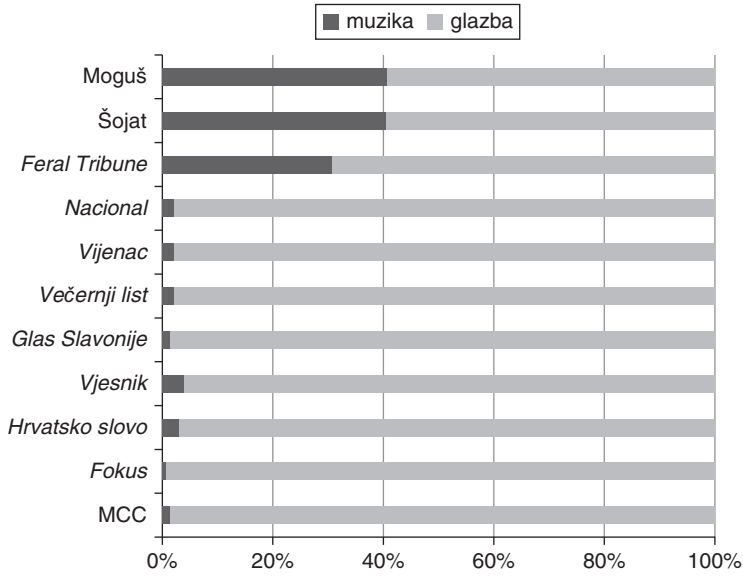


Figure 10.3 Usage of *muzika* vs *glazba* 'music'

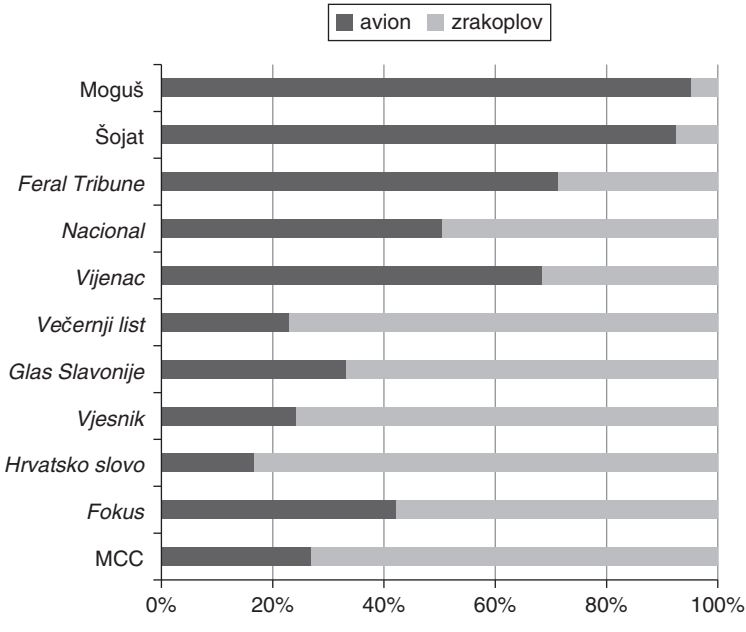


Figure 10.4 Usage of *avion* vs *zrakoplov* 'airplane'

that are attested in most of the corpora here, but are still used much less frequently than the corresponding loan word with the same meaning, even in most or all of the right-leaning media outlets; for example, *raščlamba* 'analysis' (Figure 10.5). Other pairs of this type are *civilizacija: uljudba* 'civilization', *datum: nadnevak* 'date', *kandidat: pristupnik* 'candidate'.

Changes to orthographic rules promoted by some linguists (for example, in the BFM pravopis, in its various editions) have not been adopted in most of the media. A search of the Croatian National Corpus for three representative forms indicates that only *Fokus* prefers the newer spellings. In the other papers they are used only infrequently (moreover, some of the attestations of such forms in these sources are from discussions about the proposed spelling changes). Table 10.2 gives the raw frequencies for the competing forms, with the newer spelling listed second.

The acceptance of forms that have been promoted by language purists as replacements for supposedly 'non-Croatian' words depends on many factors. In some areas, particularly administrative language in the government or military, the recommended forms have been officially

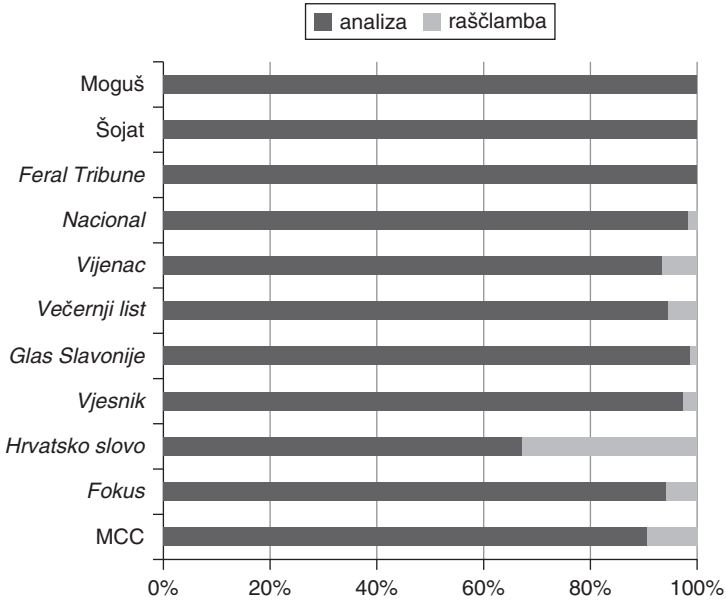


Figure 10.5 Usage of *analiza* vs *raščlamba* 'analysis'

Table 10.2 Orthographic differences

	Fokus	***Vjesnik***	***Glas Slav.***	***Več. List***	***Nacional***
podaci	8	2,645	873	114	207
podatci 'data'	149	123	49	0	0
pogreška	31	3,659	1,274	159	616
pogrješka 'mistake'	184	19	6	0	0
neće	83	32,199	11,514	1,512	4,084
ne će 'will not'	938	176	6	0	1

adopted and are used almost exclusively in these spheres. Competing forms still occur in the media, but are usually limited to specific contexts. For example, as pointed out by Grčević (2002b: 152), *vojska* is typically used in the MCC as the neutral expression for 'army' in its primary meaning, while *armija* is used mainly to refer to the former Yugoslav army or foreign armies, as well as in metaphorical contexts, such as *navijačka armija* 'an army of fans'. Likewise, *veleposlanik* is the primary term for 'ambassador' in the MCC, while *ambasador* is used only occasionally, either metaphorically (for example, *ambasador dobre volje* 'goodwill ambassador') or to refer to foreign ambassadors. It should be noted that both *vojska* and *veleposlanik* are also used in these metaphorical senses, but less frequently. Semantic differentiation for the members of other pairs and resistance to change in certain common collocations have also been noted. According to Rittgasser (2003: 9), *proračun* is used almost exclusively in expressions such as *državni proračun* 'state budget', while *budžet* still occurs in *obiteljski budžet* 'family budget', *kućni budžet* 'household budget', and so on. Although this now seems to be its primary meaning, Grčević (2002b: 155, n. 10) notes that *proračun* does not seem to have been used in the sense of '(state, official) budget' prior to 1991. Another example cited by Rittgasser (2003: 11) is a continued preference for *avion* in the syntagm *nosač aviona* 'aircraft carrier', despite the increasing frequency of *zrakoplov* in other contexts.

Words that were already used with some frequency in the 20th century have been more easily accepted, on the whole, than neologisms or words that had completely fallen out of usage after the 19th century. However, some administrative neologisms, such as *putovnica* 'passport'

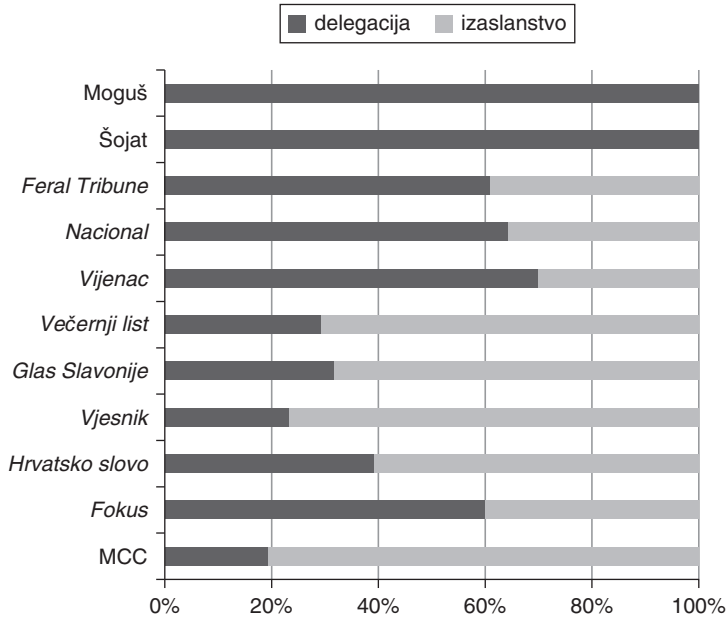


Figure 10.6 Usage of *delegacija* vs *izaslanstvo* 'delegation'

have been widely adopted, at least in written usage. The older *pasoš* still occurs in colloquial speech, but is infrequent in the media sources examined here. The increase in frequency of some recommended forms has also occasionally led to the spontaneous creation of entirely new derivatives, such as *nazočiti* 'to be present' and *nazočnik* 'a person who is present, attendee', from *nazočan* 'present' (Rittgasser 2003: 12).

In some instances, there are differences in the usage of related forms for which there are no obvious explanations. For example, compare the patterns of usage for *delegat: izaslanik* 'delegate' in Figure 10.1 above with *delegacija: izaslanstvo* in Figure 10.6. The form *delegacija* is relatively more frequent with respect to *izaslanstvo* than *delegat* is with respect to *izaslanik*. A similar picture emerges if we compare the usage of *sumnja: dvojba* 'doubt' (Figure 10.7) with *nesumnjivo: nedvojbeno* 'undoubtedly' (Figure 10.8). Data such as these highlight the fact that changes in the frequency of forms over time is very much a feature of the individual lexical items in question.

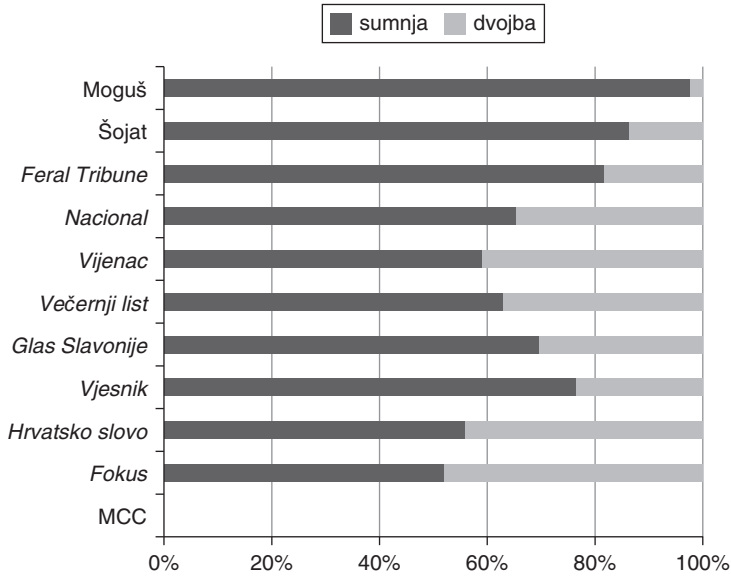


Figure 10.7 Usage of *sumnja* vs *dvojba* 'doubt'

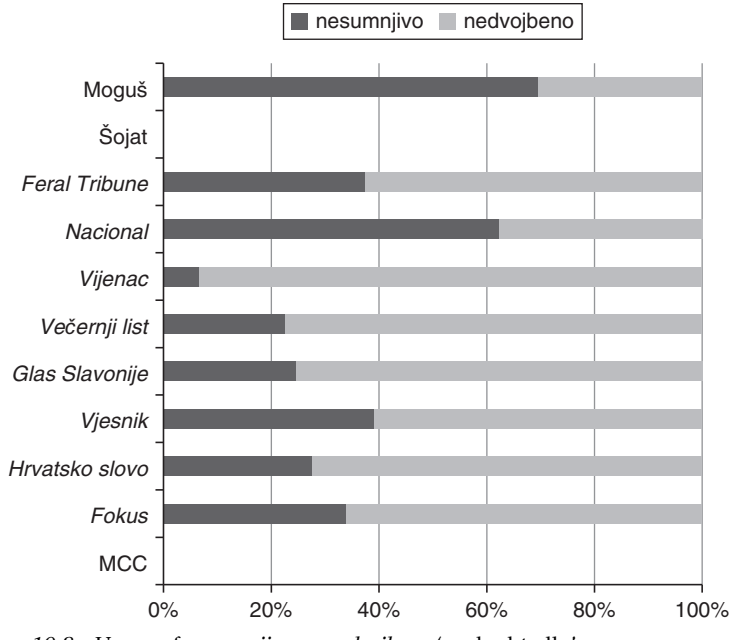


Figure 10.8 Usage of *nesumnjivo* vs *nedvojbeno* 'undoubtedly'

The language of the Internet

The language of the traditional media is controlled to a greater or lesser extent by the editorial policies of the media outlet in question, so it does not necessarily represent the usage of the language community as a whole. However, the advent of the Internet has created new opportunities for individuals to publish their own work, free of any editorial interventions. A prime example of this is the phenomenon of blogging. Although the writers of personal blogs largely represent a specific subset of society, typically younger, more educated, and more affluent, the language they use can still be considered more representative of the written usage of the broader language community than what we find in the traditional media.

One of the authors of this work compiled a million-word corpus of Croatian blog postings from the period April 2004–March 2005 from the website www.blog.hr, which we will use as a point of comparison with the media sources examined above.[13] The data from the blogs indicate resistance to the recommended forms in many of the pairs examined here; for example, *zrakoplov* 'airplane', *tvrtka* 'firm', *pozornost* 'attention' are used much less frequently than in the media, particularly the right-wing media. However, forms that have always been more characteristic of Croatian usage, such as *dojam* 'impression' instead of *utisak, sućut* 'sympathy' instead of *saučešće*, *popis* 'list' instead of *spisak*, are strongly preferred in the blogs, just as they are in the traditional media. In addition, some 'new' forms have been adopted in the blogs; for example, *životopis* alongside *biografija* 'biography', the spelling *Europa*, and so on. On the whole, the usage in the blogs is much closer to the older usage attested in Moguš (1999) and that of the more liberal press than what we observe in the right-wing press. However, even in the blog corpus we can discern a trend toward greater usage of 'purely Croatian' forms. Data for some selected examples is shown in Table 10.3. Data for additional pairs of words from both the blog corpus and the media sources discussed here are given in the Appendix.

Conclusion

The corpus data examined here reveal noticeable changes in usage after 1991, compared with earlier data from the two frequency dictionaries, but these changes are not as abrupt or as categorical as has sometimes been suggested by commentators who were relying on native-speaker intuitions. In most cases, they represent a change in the relative

Table 10.3 Comparison of usage in blogs with traditional media

	Moguš (1999)	**Blog corpus**	***Feral***	***Vjesnik***
avion	95.2%	84.8%	71.4%	24.3%
zrakoplov ‘airplane’	4.8%	15.2%	28.6%	75.7%
biografija	83.3%	41.7%	87.5%	74.8%
životopis ‘biography’	16.7%	58.3%	12.5%	25.2%
godišnjica	71.8%	64.7%	52.6%	22.4%
obljetnica ‘anniversary’	28.2%	35.3%	47.4%	77.6%
greška	52.3%	73.2%	83.7%	24.9%
pogreška ‘mistake’	47.7%	26.8%	16.3%	75.1%
grupa	69.7%	53.5%	48.0%	24.4%
skupina ‘group’	30.3%	46.5%	52.0%	75.6%
klavir	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	43.2%
glasovir ‘piano’	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	56.8%
muzika	40.8%	40.7%	30.8%	3.9%
glazba ‘music’	59.2%	59.3%	69.2%	96.1%
nivo	51.8%	45.1%	15.0%	1.8%
razina ‘level’	48.2%	54.9%	85.0%	98.2%
pažnja	95.3%	86.0%	56.8%	37.0%
pozornost ‘attention’	4.7%	14.0%	43.2%	63.0%
raskršće	97.7%	50.0%	63.6%	6.1%
raskrižje ‘intersection’	2.3%	50.0%	36.4%	93.9%
sistem	68.4%	51.0%	32.3%	5.4%
sustav ‘system’	31.6%	49.0%	67.7%	94.6%
spisak	16.2%	24.7%	24.6%	1.7%
popis ‘list’	83.8%	75.3%	75.4%	98.3%
utisak	27.0%	4.2%	18.1%	1.5%
dojam ‘impression’	73.0%	95.8%	81.9%	98.5%

frequency of forms that were already in use, and not a wholesale replacement of existing lexical items by new (or revived) forms. The data also reflect the political dimension of language purism, since in many cases the use of certain forms corresponds to the political orientation of the given media outlet. At the same time, they also point out the difficulty of the purist enterprise; even the most right-wing media continue to use proscribed forms alongside the 'pure Croatian' variants, and many forms that have been recommended by purists have failed to gain a foothold anywhere.

Changes in usage in the blog corpus are less pronounced, on the whole. In these unedited written texts we find that the usage of many forms is more similar to that reflected in Moguš et al. (1999, based on data from the period 1935–1977) than to that in the media corpora examined here. However, the usage of recommended 'pure Croatian' variants appears to be trending upwards. Attempts to purify the language after 1991 have had some effect, but this is a slow process and the outcome varies depending on the individual lexical items in question. Although some publications appear to have editorial policies promoting the use of 'more Croatian' forms, in practical terms this results in the increased frequency of a limited number of words, with primarily symbolic effect. Even the most nationalist publications do not strictly follow the recommendations of purists to always use native Croatian forms whenever this is possible.

11

The Croatian Language Question Today on the Boundary of Identity and Ideology

The connection between the Croatian language and Croatian national identity is a powerful one, which played a role in the secession of Croatia from the former Yugoslavia and continues to occupy an important place in Croatian society today. It is based on an essentialization of language, which is viewed as an objective and primary marker of 'Croatianness'. This misconception has deep historical roots and is obviously not particular to Croatia. However, the specific historical and linguistic situation in Croatia and other SFRY successor states makes it an especially rich source for the study of language planning and the relationship of language and identity.

The reliance on linguistic evidence to 'prove' the existence of the Croatian people as a distinct national group from their earliest recorded history to the present leads to certain historical distortions and a mythologization of the past. The idea of a Croatian national identity connected with a Croatian language in the modern sense of these terms is pushed back to the time of the earliest Slavic writing on the Croatian territory, if not before, and a number of linguists have sought evidence of a nascent Croatian standard language well before the decisive events of the 19th century, which gave the standard language the basic form that it has today. The disparate strands of the historical Croatian literary tradition are presented as forming a continuous and coherent whole, leading inevitably to the modern standard language. The role of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in the standardization process is minimized or denied, and efforts to create a unified Serbo-Croatian language are seen as an aberration, which interrupted the 'natural' development of the Croatian standard language. These efforts are often portrayed as the result of misguided or mistaken beliefs on the part of Croats who participated in them, and as a cynical political calculation on the part of

Serbs to support their expansionist goal of subsuming Croatian cultural and linguistic identity into a Greater Serbia. Many Croatian linguists treat the official Serbo-Croatian language of the former Yugoslavia as a fiction, pointing to the continued use of distinctively Croatian features as a proof of the existence of a completely distinct Croatian language throughout the 20th century, despite all attempts to destroy it.

However, the idea of a common South Slavic national identity was fostered in the 19th century largely by Croatian intellectuals, who made conscious language-planning choices to create a standardized variety that would be broadly acceptable to both Croats and Serbs. The national integration of modern Croatia was closely connected with this Yugoslav idea, which formed the basis for the creation of a Yugoslav state in the 20th century (see Djokić 2013: 57–8 and additional references there). A supranational Yugoslav culture developed and functioned in both Yugoslavias, before and after World War II. Although it did not obliterate other competing cultural and linguistic identities, inhabitants of the former Yugoslavia were, in a real sense, members of a Serbo-Croatian language community. The Serbo-Croatian language was not a monolithic whole, but this is true of all languages, as discussed in Chapter 2. Based on the various possible definitions of languages as social constructs and the criteria that may be applied to determine the boundaries of individual language varieties, it is legitimate to speak of the existence of a Serbo-Croatian language (in the general sense of this term), at least during the Yugoslav period, and of the existence of a polycentric Serbo-Croatian standard language.

To a significant degree, speakers of the Croatian language today are still part of this larger language community, together with speakers of the other mutually intelligible varieties in the region. There still exists a common culture within what Tim Judah (2009) has dubbed the Yugosphere, which is built on shared historical experiences and facilitated by the ease of intercommunication among its members. During and immediately after the wars of secession there was, to be sure, a high degree of cultural insularity and distrust. Writers, performers, filmmakers, and other artists from the neighboring countries were often viewed with great enmity, or at least with suspicion. For example, the Croatian Musicians' Union threatened to blacklist venues that allowed politically problematic musicians from the other former Yugoslav republics to perform, and also banned Croatian musicians who performed in Serbia or with Serbian musicians (see Baker 2010: 182–4). However, this attitude was gradually relaxed after relations were normalized with Serbia, and now bands and musicians who were popular in the former Yugoslavia

regularly give concerts in Croatia. The first Serbian film to be shown commercially in Croatia after the war, Srđan Dragojević's *The Wounds* (*Rane*, 1998), attracted a good audience, although it also invited derision because of the decision to present it with Croatian subtitles (see Crnković 2012: 206). The same director's film *The Parade* (*Parada*, 2011) reportedly sold over 150,000 tickets in Croatia, more than any Croatian film other than *How the War Began on My Island* (*Kako je počeo rat na mom otoku,* 1996, directed by Vinko Brešan).[1] The website književnost.org, based in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, reports on literary events and new publications in Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which attests to the existence of a larger literary community. Serbian words and expressions also form part of the slang used by young people in Croatia (see Judah 2009; Baker 2010: 175–209; and Crnković 2012: 202–22 for further discussion and additional examples). Thus, 'our language' (*naš jezik*), as a cover term for these closely related language varieties that dates back to 20th-century Yugoslavia as well as earlier periods, still continues to function as a means of communication.

This is not at all meant to deny the existence of a distinct Croatian language as well as a separate Croatian national and cultural identity, however, as should be clear from the discussion in the preceding chapters. Croatian speakers, like the speakers of the other closely related language varieties in the region, are keenly aware of differences among the standard languages (and among local varieties), and these differences have been used in the construction of distinct national identities. The fact that the štokavian-based standard languages in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia are very similar, due to the historical processes of standardization, and that this similarity allows the users of these languages to participate in a broader language community, does not detract from their individual identities. As we emphasized in Chapter 2, languages are social constructs, and there are no objective, non-social criteria that can be used to unambiguously determine the borders of a given language. Linguists may wish to study a group of varieties together and treat them as part of the same 'language' for their own specific purposes, but as a social phenomenon, languages are defined by their communities of users. Similarly, identities are also constructed by the individual and by society, and individuals share a number of overlapping group identities. There is no real contradiction, then, between the existence of a Croatian language and Croatian national identity and the Serbo-Croatian language and Yugoslav national identity that were promoted in the 20th century. These concepts became a point of controversy because they were treated as being mutually exclusive.

The Croatian language has its own distinctive history, the roots of which can be traced back to earlier periods where neither the language nor its users were identified as Croatian in the same sense as today. This also does not call into question the legitimacy of treating these earlier manifestations of the literary language as part of the history of Croatian. The same thing could be said for other national languages, whose history is conventionally traced back to much earlier written works on their territories. This interpretation of the historical development of Croatian becomes controversial only because parts of the same linguistic and literary tradition are simultaneously claimed by other groups. Competing versions of linguistic history, according to which the Croats are said to have taken Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's Serbian language and made it their own, or Vuk is said to have taken the Croatian linguistic and literary tradition and used it as the basis for the creation of a modern Serbian standard language, are oversimplified and misleading, although they both have some basis in fact. It is mistaken to assume that the language and identity of inhabitants of this region in the pre-national period correspond directly to contemporary languages and identities, as has often been done in the service of constructing these contemporary identities. It is also mistaken to assume that the form taken by the modern standard languages was somehow inevitable, as has often been implied or explicitly stated. The creation of a Serbo-Croatian standard language was seen at one point as the inevitable consequence of the fact that 'one people needs to have one literature' (from the 1850 Vienna Literary Agreement, Greenberg 2004: 168). Similarly, the choice of ijekavian neoštokavian as the basis for the standard language used by the Croats has also been portrayed as the inevitable result of developments internal to Croatian, which had nothing to do with the Serbs (see, for example, Katičić 1997: 168). In reality, the standardization of language varieties in the region could have taken many different paths.

The choices made by language planners in Croatia in the 19th century were clearly influenced by the work of Vuk Karadžić and a desire for South Slavic unity. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, the specific choices made regarding the corpus on which the standard language would be based were controversial at the time. Many linguists made a case for different orthographical, phonological, morphological, and lexical norms than the ones that were eventually adopted. From a contemporary perspective, it would have been less problematic for Croatian linguistic identity if some of these competing approaches had succeeded. After the turn of the century, within the newly formed

Yugoslav state, Croats found their political and linguistic position to be different from what they had originally hoped for. A rigid neoštokavian norm based on the corpus defined by Vuk and Daničić was not in keeping with the contemporary Croatian usage, and elements of this norm were consequently rejected by the Croats (as was also the case with the majority of the Serbs, who rejected Vuk's ijekavian in favor of ekavian, and incorporated lexical items and other features from their own vernaculars into the standard language). Individuals who believed in the ideal of Yugoslav national and linguistic unity, with the support of the government, promoted the creation of a fully unified norm for both the Croats and the Serbs. However, this unification came largely at the expense of traditional Croatian features, which language planners attempted to exclude from the standard language. In the face of significant Croatian resistance, these efforts were only partly successful, and Croatian standard usage remained distinct in many respects from Serbian.

As mentioned above, language planners on the Croatian side often refer to the 'natural' development of the Croatian standard language, which they see as having been interrupted by events in the late 19th century and in the 20th century up until the time of Croatia's independence. Recent language-planning efforts are therefore portrayed as returning the Croatian language to its original 'natural' state. Likewise, a certain degree of purism is described as being 'natural' and inherent to the language itself. This rhetoric is employed to promote acceptance of their proposed changes to the norms of the standard language. But as should be clear by now, languages, and particularly standard languages, are not natural entities, although they are commonly conceived of as such. Purism could be described as 'natural' in a somewhat different sense, since it is a common practice within language communities, but it is still something that is socially determined. It may characterize language use, but cannot be a feature of the language itself.

Whether one refers to the standard language in Croatia throughout most of the 20th century as 'the western variant of Serbo-Croatian' or as 'standard Croatian' is really a question of nomenclature, although the name carries great symbolic significance. As we have maintained, languages are defined by their communities, and the standard variety used in Croatia has been defined differently at different times. What is important is that a distinctive standardized variety, with essentially the same orthographical, phonological, grammatical, and lexical norms, has existed in Croatia continuously from the late 19th century up into the present. This standard language was fully developed in the Prague

School sense, with a codified norm that had been elaborated so that it was polyfunctional and could serve all the needs of modern society. Thus it is incorrect to think of the contemporary Croatian standard as being some sort of newly created language after the collapse of the former Yugoslavia, or as a simple renaming of the previous Serbo-Croatian language, as has sometimes been implied. At the same time, this also means that there was no compelling *communicative* need to introduce changes into the norms of Croatian after 1991. Language-planning efforts in Croatia over the last two decades have been undertaken for purely symbolic reasons, to enhance the distinctive identity of the Croatian language and to support the concept of Croatian national identity, rather than to address any practical problems with the language. Therefore they do not fall neatly into the category of elaboration (sometimes also called modernization) in Haugen's (1983: 275) matrix of language-planning processes (discussed in Chapter 2). They are not intended to enable the language to serve new communicative functions or to improve the efficiency of the standard language in some sense (as, for example, with the reform of German orthography in the 1990s; see Johnson 2005).[2] Instead, recent Croatian language planning represents a type of *restandardization*, which involves the selection and codification of new norms to partially replace existing norms, and the implementation and acceptance of these new norms.[3]

Contemporary language planning in Croatia has involved elements of both status and corpus planning, as described in the preceding chapters. As we have seen, much effort has been devoted to convincing people, both at home and abroad, of the distinctive identity of the Croatian language. Language planners have portrayed their proposed changes as a way of restoring traditional Croatian features that had been unjustly eliminated during the period of forced linguistic unification with Serbian. They justify the increased use of native Slavic and distinctively Croatian forms by asserting that purism is an inherent feature of the Croatian language itself. They are motivated by the idea that the Croatian language is an inseparable part of Croatian identity, and that to make one's usage 'more Croatian', in the way that they define this, is to show one's love and respect for Croatian culture and heritage.

Croatian language planning has taken place on a variety of different levels, as discussed in the second part of the book. Despite all of the political rhetoric about the importance of the Croatian language, particularly in the 1990s, legislation or policy making at the governmental level has not been particularly focused on language planning, apart from mandating certain changes in legal, military, and other administrative

terminology (see Chapter 6). Legislation and regulations concerning commerce and the media require the use of the Croatian language in the names of businesses and in broadcasting, but do not contain any additional requirements concerning the norms of the language, and the existing laws have not always been strictly enforced. The only language-planning body officially sanctioned by the government, the Council for the Norms of the Croatian Standard Language, was established by the Minister of Science, Education, and Sports only in 2005. Its actual influence appears to have been limited, and it was disbanded in 2012. Institutions such as the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics, and the Matica hrvatska have also been active in linguistic debates about the status and norms of the language. These and other academic institutions, individual linguists, and even non-specialists have been involved in the production of numerous dictionaries and handbooks, usually with the goal of restandardization of certain aspects of the contemporary norm. Language-advice features in the media have been employed to influence attitudes about the standard language and to educate members of the language community about what the authors consider to be 'proper' or 'good' Croatian usage. Such advice has typically been purist in nature. The language used in the media, which is determined largely by the editorial policies of the different media outlets, also has the potential to affect the public's conception of the norms of the standard language. The educational system is probably the area with the most potential for the implementation and acceptance of language restandardization, so it has been a particular focus for language planners.

In the 1990s, purists began to promote a rigid and exclusive view of the Croatian standard language, in which anything that hinted of the east must be eliminated. The version of Croatian that they presented as the only authentic one, with its archaisms and (less often) newly coined Croatian words, was foreign to the way that people had been accustomed to using the language. In its most extreme form, these attempts to reshape the standard language ignored stylistic differentiation and regional variation. An equation was made between using 'good' or 'pure' Croatian and being a 'good' or 'true' Croat. This situation led some people to doubt their own competence in the language, and speakers would sometimes correct themselves (or be reprimanded by others) if they used a 'non-Croatian' word or expression. The introduction of 'neo-Croatian' (*novohrvatski*), as it was sometimes called, was also more problematic for speakers on the periphery of the country than those in Zagreb and the surrounding region. For example, speakers in

the east or south of Croatia often share linguistic features with non-Croatian varieties spoken just across the border. This led to a certain conflict between regional and national linguistic identity, in which changes to standard norms sometimes faced greater resistance in outlying areas. But while the standard language is normally the variety associated with national identity, regional varieties can also be viewed by their speakers as simultaneously marking both regional and national identity.

In an ethnological study of Croats from the region of Srem/Srijem in Serbia, who resettled in the area of Virovitica because of the war, Čapo Žmegač (2002) reports that they encountered discrimination because their native ekavian variety was perceived as being Serbian. Most of these repatriated Croats, especially the younger generation, made an effort to switch to standard Croatian (ijekavian) when communicating with others outside of their own community of immigrants from Srijem. One young woman who was interviewed complained that her neighbor had corrected her when she said *mleko* 'milk'; the neighbor, who happened to be originally from Dalmatia, told her that she should say *mliko*. The first woman continued to recount the story as follows:

> Well, I said, I didn't bring *mliko* either. Whose *mliko* is this that you're saying? 'It's my native [word]'. So I said, '*Mleko* is my native [word]'. She's a Dalmatian. She says *mliko*. And she says *mliko* now, while I'm supposed to say *mlijeko*. Well, you say *mlijeko*, too! (Čapo Žmegač 2002: 312)

This points to the complex interactions of various identities that are possible in the Croatian context. For the woman from Dalmatia, her form *mliko* is unmistakably Croatian (and more specifically, Dalmatian), but the form *mleko* spoken by another native Croat is unacceptable. And this must only be because she knew that the woman in question was originally from Serbia, because there are other unmistakably Croatian dialects (mainly kajkavian) that are also ekavian. It is interesting that the Dalmatian woman instructs the woman from Srijem to use not the standard Croatian form, but the regional Dalmatian pronunciation. A man from Srijem similarly complained that in local shops they expected him to say *posije* 'bran or meal (for feeding livestock, in this case)' and *germa* 'yeast' as opposed to *stočno brašno* or *kvasac*, which were his native expressions, as well as being standard Croatian forms, and which he indignantly pointed out were the words actually printed on the

packaging (Čapo Žmegač 2002: 258–9). Once again, we see the regional variety taking precedence over the standard language as a symbol of Croatian identity.

Conflicted attitudes towards standard Croatian, and particularly innovations introduced in the 1990s, were especially noticeable in Istria. Istria is a peninsula in the far west of the country, separated geographically from the rest of Croatia by the Učka mountain range. Because of its geographical position, it was not directly affected by the fighting in the 1990s, and for many of the inhabitants their experience of the war and the intense nationalism of this period was different from that of people living in other parts of Croatia. Istria also has a particularly complex linguistic situation, with a number of different Romance and Slavic varieties spoken within a small territory. In a discussion of survey research and interviews about language attitudes in Istria conducted by Jens-Eberhard Jahn in the 1990s, he concluded that:

- People feel linguistically insecure because of the new standardization of the Croatian language, so that they prefer to express themselves in the language variety they know best (rather than make mistakes by using words which are officially considered to be Serbian): they use the non-standard varieties, because by doing so they avoid any problems with the standard norm.
- Many inhabitants of Istria identify standard Croatian in general, and especially the new Croatian standard, with a centralist and nationalistic policy and its supporters, which they do not appreciate. The consequence is a growing regionalism that finds its linguistic expression in the use of non-standard varieties. (Jahn 1999: 353).

Istrian regional identity was expressed in a wave of čakavian-based rock music in the 1990s, and research on this phenomenon by Sanja Kalapoš (2002) is consistent with Jahn's findings. One of the people she interviewed specifically denied that Istrians or their language were somehow less Croatian, despite being different from the rest of Croatia:

> […] people would often say that Istrians lack a national consciousness, then I would always argue that the thing is not so much a lack of national consciousness, but rather that people in Istria are somehow … They don't have that agressive approach to things […] Then I would always point out that the oldest literary language is čakavian, and that Istrians speak čakavian, that they maintained their čakavian

> despite the fact that they were under Italian rule, that it was written here and spoken here, that this čakavian language preserved their linguistic identity and some kind of national consciousness [...] (Kalapoš 2002: 113–14)

In her following discussion, Kalapoš (2002: 115–16) asserts that it was precisely the redefinition of Croatian national identity in the 1990s that also opened up a space for Istrian regional identity (both linguistic and non-linguistic) that did not exist in the former Yugoslavia. She argues that this regionalism is not separatist or insufficiently Croatian, as was sometimes claimed at the time by the government and state media. Her informants treated their Croatian national identity as something that was simply understood and did not need to be over-emphasized. It is clear, however, that they understood their linguistic identity differently from the 'pure' Croatian promoted by language planners.

More recent research shows a continued feeling of distance from the standard language in Istria. In a survey of over 1,200 high school students, their answers indicated that they view the standard language primarily as bringing social and economic benefits, allowing communication with people in other parts of Croatia, and providing access to education and employment. They value local dialects much more highly in terms of identity (Sujoldžić 2008: 38–9). In a matched guise test in which the participants evaluated six varieties (Standard Croatian, Standard Italian, the urban vernacular of Pula, an Istrian čakavian dialect, an Istrian Italian dialect, and the Zagreb urban vernacular) along a number of dimensions, standard Croatian ranked either 5th or 6th in terms of social solidarity, status, competence, and pleasantness. The only quality for which it was highly ranked (in first place) was for grammatical correctness (Sujoldžić 2008: 40).

In addition to the issues of regional variation, the coexistence of different Croatian language varieties, and overlapping senses of identity, recent attempts to reshape the standard language encounter a number of other practical problems related to their implementation and acceptance. As discussed in Chapter 2, the standard language is a set of abstract norms, which can never be fully and finally codified, and to which actual usage only partly conforms (Milroy and Milroy 1985). Purism or 'proper' usage of the language is a concern restricted primarily to the elite. The average person in everyday contexts, including those where the standard language is expected, is not necessarily concerned with whether or not *zrakoplov* 'airplane' is somehow 'better' than *avion*, for example, if the latter term meets her/his communicative

needs. Similarly, it is difficult to convince people that words that they have always spelled as *zadaci, bregovi, neću* should now be spelled as *zadatci, brjegovi, ne ću*. Arguments that certain forms are 'more Croatian' than others, and thus are representative of Croatian national identity, were accepted by certain segments of the population, particularly in the 1990s, but the practical effect was that people adopted, at best, a relatively small number of forms that were felt to be particularly symbolic, and ignored other proposed changes. Words used consistently by the governmental bureaucracy, such as *putovnica* 'passport' instead of *pasoš*, also gained currency. But again, for many individuals, the forms that they had previously been using were already felt to be 'Croatian', so there was no need to adopt another synonymous word as a marker of Croatian identity.[4] If this symbolic argument is rejected, there is no other convincing reason for replacing a form that had previously been considered to be standard. This makes any significant restandardization of the language difficult to achieve.

The data from the media examined in Chapter 10 support this view. Although there are noticeable trends towards the more or less frequent use of 'pure' Croatian forms that correlate with the political orientation of the media in question, on a micro level the usage of individual forms varies. The frequency of particular lexical items in the media can certainly influence patterns of usage among the general population, but this is a very gradual process, and one that is largely beyond the control of language planners. The blog data discussed in Chapter 10 show that usage by self-published writers is still close to the general patterns seen in corpus data from before 1991. As mentioned earlier, the media are more effective in promoting awareness of proposed changes than in inducing people to adopt them. Even if the most rigid purist standards were implemented in all of the media, without public willingness to accept these changes the end result would be a diglossic situation, with one type of language in the media (and presumably other formal contexts), and a completely different type of language in everyday usage.

Particularly in a democratic society, there are limitations to what the government can achieve in the area of language planning. Repeated efforts to propose a general law on the 'public use' of Croatian have foundered, and at any rate it is unlikely that the government could effectively regulate 'public use' in the first place. The area where changes to the standard language can be most effectively implemented is the educational system, which is regulated on the national level in Croatia. As shown in Chapter 9, there have been changes in official policies concerning language education since Croatian independence,

which are reflected both in teaching materials and in the training and continuing education of teachers. However, even here there is variation in usage among textbooks. In the survey data discussed in this chapter, many teachers expressed overtly purist attitudes, but their understanding of the norms of the standard language do not always correspond with the standards prescribed in contemporary handbooks. The most recent guidelines from the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports for textbooks retain earlier instructions to avoid 'unnecessary foreign words', and the approval of the IHJJ pravopis for use in the schools officially institutes some (but not all) of the orthographic changes that have been discussed over the last two decades. These policies, if applied consistently over the long term, will almost certainly have some impact on the shape of the standard language in the future.

Nonetheless, we must emphasize that today, more than 20 years after the beginning of intensive efforts to restandardize the Croatian language in support of a distinctive Croatian linguistic and national identity, the future direction of language planning in Croatia remains uncertain. Differential dictionaries stopped appearing after the 1990s (the last edition of Brodnjak's dictionary appeared in 1998), and the volume of other usage guides and of language advice features in the media has also been significantly reduced over the last decade. On the other hand, controversies over orthographical norms and the publication of competing orthographic manuals have continued unabated, and it remains to be seen whether the most recent pravopis by the IHJJ (Jozić et al. 2013) will settle the issue.

The emphasis on linguistic differentiation from Serbian has to some extent subsided now, while globalism and the international influence of English have become a greater concern, at least in some circles. The entry of Croatia into the EU and the uncertain economic climate have only exacerbated such fears, and the Croatian language is felt by some to be a very small fish in a big pond, which needs special attention and protection to preserve its identity. This can be seen in the most recent proposal for a Law on the Public Use of Croatian (Matica hrvatska 2013), which seeks to legally ensure that the Croatian language is not supplanted by English (or other foreign languages) in business or other public spheres. Although Serbian is not seen as a threat in the same way as in the past, there are also concerns that Croatian could still be lumped together with Serbian and other languages of the western Balkans in international institutions. While this is not a problem in terms of comprehension, the official recognition of Croatian, including oral and written translation into Croatian, is still symbolically

important. International conventions regarding minority linguistic rights have also become an issue in areas with a significant Serbian population, where guarantees for the public use of Serbian and the Cyrillic alphabet are perceived as a threat to Croatian identity and to the memory of victims of the war.

The intense focus in Croatia on the status and norms of the standard language, and the standard language's role as a primary symbol of national identity, are understandable given the history of the Croatian language and people. This has been especially the case since Croatia declared its independence from Yugoslavia, but was also true during the Yugoslav period. In both periods, language planning efforts insisted on norms that diverged from the linguistic practices of the broader Croatian population: in the first period, the main goal of language policies was to bring the language closer to Serbian; and in the second, to differentiate it from Serbian. Both of these encountered resistance and were only partly successful. As we have argued here, the identity of the Croatian language does not depend on its similarity or difference to other language varieties. Croatian language policies are likely to be more effective if they are based on a better understanding of the nature of language and the needs of its community of users, and are oriented toward the future rather than toward the past.

Appendix. Corpus Data

See Chapter 10 for more information on the sources of these data. The frequency dictionaries by Moguš et al. (1999) and Šojat (1983) are used as points of reference for usage prior to 1991. The Mannheim Croatian Corpus (MCC) is not available in an online searchable version; data are reported according to Grčević (2002b), who does not list all of the forms included here.

For the pairs in the table, borrowings or other dispreferred forms are listed first, and forms recommended in recent handbooks and usage guides are listed second.

	Moguš (1935–1977, 1m)		Šojat (1980, 130k)		*Feral Tribune* (2001–02, 0.6m)		*Nacional* (1997–2000, 6.9m)		*Vijenac* (2001–02, 1.5m)		*Večernji list* (1999, 2.2m)		*Glas Slavonije* (2002–2005, 17m)		*Vjesnik* (2000–03, 46.6m)		*Hrvatsko slovo* (2001–02, 0.5m)		*Fokus* (2003–2005, 2.7m)		MCC (1997–1999, 14m)		Blog corpus (2004–2005, 1m)	
advokat, -ica	87.1%	(27)	0.0%	(0)	7.2%	(11)	2.2%	(20)	8.8%	(3)	1.1%	(5)	0.6%	(13)	0.6%	(53)	0.0%	(0)	1.5%	(3)	1.2%	(16)	18.2%	(4)
odvjetnik, -ica 'lawyer'	12.9%	(4)	100.0%	(5)	92.8%	(142)	97.8%	(876)	91.2%	(31)	98.9%	(436)	99.4%	(2074)	99.4%	(9145)	100.0%	(39)	98.5%	(198)	98.8%	(1318)	81.8%	(18)
aerodrom	100.0%	(47)	100.0%	(16)	29.7%	(19)	68.0%	(170)	14.3%	(5)	58.7%	(88)	32.5%	(397)	34.7%	(793)	33.3%	(1)	25.0%	(9)	–	–	96.2%	(25)
zračna luka 'airport'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	70.3%	(45)	32.0%	(80)	85.7%	(30)	41.3%	(62)	67.5%	(825)	65.3%	(1494)	66.7%	(2)	75.0%	(27)	–	–	3.8%	(1)
ambasada	100.0%	(5)	100.0%	(16)	84.2%	(16)	37.8%	(131)	10.5%	(4)	7.1%	(8)	6.0%	(35)	7.1%	(159)	6.3%	(1)	0.9%	(1)	5.4%	(47)	36.4%	(4)
veleposlanstvo 'embassy'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	15.8%	(3)	62.2%	(216)	89.5%	(34)	92.9%	(105)	94.0%	(545)	92.9%	(2084)	93.7%	(15)	99.1%	(113)	94.6%	(831)	63.6%	(7)
ambasador, -ica	100.0%	(21)	100.0%	(18)	64.5%	(20)	32.4%	(260)	43.5%	(10)	7.1%	(12)	6.4%	(55)	6.7%	(307)	9.1%	(4)	6.7%	(11)	–	–	37.5%	(3)
veleposlanik, -ica 'ambassador'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	35.5%	(11)	67.6%	(542)	56.5%	(13)	92.9%	(158)	93.6%	(798)	93.3%	(4267)	90.9%	(40)	93.3%	(154)	–	–	62.5%	(5)
analiza	100.0%	(107)	100.0%	(18)	100.0%	(45)	98.3%	(340)	93.5%	(186)	94.6%	(141)	98.8%	(1271)	97.5%	(3526)	67.3%	(37)	94.3%	(247)	90.6%	(934)	96.6%	(28)
raščlamba 'analysis'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	1.7%	(6)	6.5%	(13)	5.4%	(8)	1.2%	(16)	2.5%	(91)	32.7%	(18)	5.7%	(15)	9.4%	(97)	3.4%	(1)
armija	38.7%	(94)	30.0%	(9)	19.6%	(39)	13.7%	(252)	6.6%	(5)	14.5%	(105)	5.0%	(123)	9.3%	(1031)	12.0%	(42)	15.8%	(126)	11.1%	(406)	4.9%	(3)
vojska 'army'	61.3%	(149)	70.0%	(21)	80.4%	(160)	86.3%	(1593)	93.4%	(71)	85.5%	(621)	95.0%	(2322)	90.7%	(10030)	88.0%	(308)	84.2%	(674)	88.9%	(3236)	95.1%	(58)
atmosfera	96.0%	(48)	100.0%	(8)	84.6%	(44)	86.5%	(628)	76.0%	(285)	72.4%	(113)	77.2%	(1263)	64.4%	(3200)	39.7%	(23)	19.2%	(53)	–	–	91.8%	(56)
ozračje 'atmosphere'	4.0%	(2)	0.0%	(0)	15.4%	(8)	13.5%	(98)	24.0%	(90)	27.6%	(43)	22.8%	(372)	35.6%	(1770)	60.3%	(35)	80.8%	(223)	–	–	8.2%	(5)

(*continued*)

Continued

	Moguš (1935–1977, 1m)		**Šojat (1980, 130k)**		***Feral Tribune* (2001–02, 0.6m)**		***Nacional* (1997–2000, 6.9m)**		***Vijenac* (2001–02, 1.5m)**		***Večernji list* (1999, 2.2m)**		***Glas Slavonije* (2002–2005, 17m)**		***Vjesnik* (2000–03, 46.6m)**		***Hrvatsko slovo* (2001–02, 0.5m)**		***Fokus* (2003–2005, 2.7m)**		**MCC (1997–1999, 14m)**		**Blog corpus (2004–2005, 1m)**	
avion	95.2%	(100)	92.6%	(25)	71.4%	(30)	50.5%	(359)	68.4%	(26)	22.9%	(147)	33.2%	(459)	24.3%	(1220)	16.7%	(9)	42.2%	(49)	27.0%	(726)	84.8%	(56)
zrakoplov ‘airplane’	4.8%	(5)	7.4%	(2)	28.6%	(12)	49.5%	(352)	31.6%	(12)	77.1%	(496)	66.8%	(923)	75.7%	(3807)	83.3%	(45)	57.8%	(67)	73.0%	(1964)	15.2%	(10)
biblioteka	63.9%	(23)	71.4%	(10)	42.9%	(15)	68.2%	(101)	50.7%	(221)	19.3%	(17)	15.5%	(161)	23.5%	(613)	22.7%	(5)	43.6%	(65)	12.3%	(159)	32.0%	(16)
knjižnica ‘library’	36.1%	(13)	28.6%	(4)	57.1%	(20)	31.8%	(47)	49.3%	(215)	80.7%	(71)	84.5%	(877)	76.5%	(2001)	77.3%	(17)	56.4%	(84)	87.7%	(1135)	68.0%	(34)
biografija	83.3%	(10)	50.0%	(1)	87.5%	(28)	83.0%	(278)	76.7%	(122)	69.6%	(16)	59.2%	(129)	74.8%	(562)	42.9%	(6)	8.8%	(6)	–	–	41.7%	(10)
životopis ‘biography’	16.7%	(2)	50.0%	(1)	12.5%	(4)	17.0%	(57)	23.3%	(37)	30.4%	(7)	40.8%	(89)	25.2%	(189)	57.1%	(8)	91.2%	(62)	–	–	58.3%	(14)
budžet	47.3%	(26)	37.5%	(3)	25.8%	(17)	24.6%	(262)	37.8%	(31)	4.5%	(19)	5.7%	(246)	4.0%	(469)	4.0%	(5)	0.8%	(4)	4.0%	(125)	40.0%	(12)
proračun ‘budget’	52.7%	(29)	62.5%	(5)	74.2%	(49)	75.4%	(802)	62.2%	(51)	95.5%	(402)	94.3%	(4091)	96.0%	(11156)	96.0%	(119)	99.2%	(487)	96.0%	(2994)	60.0%	(18)
centar	48.6%	(71)	82.0%	(73)	84.5%	(174)	67.5%	(1492)	62.9%	(485)	64.9%	(517)	70.6%	(7244)	76.3%	(14764)	67.9%	(150)	53.9%	(472)	76.7%	(5758)	88.3%	(136)
središte ‘center’	51.4%	(75)	18.0%	(16)	15.5%	(32)	32.5%	(718)	37.1%	(286)	35.1%	(280)	29.4%	(3015)	23.7%	(4590)	32.1%	(71)	46.1%	(403)	23.3%	(1754)	11.7%	(18)
civilizacija	96.0%	(24)		(0)	97.4%	(37)	93.0%	(120)	98.7%	(155)	100.0%	(27)	94.6%	(141)	94.8%	(1161)	80.6%	(58)	90.3%	(176)	90.8%	(324)	100.0%	(26)
uljudba civilization’	4.0%	(1)		(0)	2.6%	(1)	7.0%	(9)	1.3%	(2)	0.0%	(0)	5.4%	(8)	5.2%	(64)	19.4%	(14)	9.7%	(19)	9.2%	(33)	0.0%	(0)
datum	100.0%	(16)	100.0%	(8)	91.4%	(32)	97.4%	(229)	97.4%	(74)	95.7%	(88)	98.8%	(929)	96.5%	(2134)	42.9%	(9)	72.3%	(115)	90.7%	(603)	97.2%	(35)
nadnevak ‘date’	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	8.6%	(3)	2.6%	(6)	2.6%	(2)	4.3%	(4)	1.2%	(11)	3.5%	(78)	57.1%	(12)	27.7%	(44)	9.3%	(62)	2.8%	(1)
delegacija	100.0%	(154)	100.0%	(46)	60.9%	(14)	64.3%	(277)	70.0%	(7)	29.3%	(39)	31.8%	(236)	23.4%	(968)	39.3%	(11)	60.0%	(57)	19.4%	(324)	66.7%	(2)
izaslanstvo ‘delegation’	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	39.1%	(9)	35.7%	(154)	30.0%	(3)	70.7%	(94)	68.2%	(506)	76.6%	(3172)	60.7%	(17)	40.0%	(38)	80.6%	(1344)	33.3%	(1)
delegat, -kinja	94.8%	(91)	94.5%	(52)	20.0%	(2)	28.2%	(55)	37.5%	(3)	23.3%	(21)	18.5%	(79)	25.2%	(456)	18.8%	(3)	23.2%	(13)	16.9%	(148)	100.0%	(1)
izaslanik, -ica ‘delegate’	5.2%	(5)	5.5%	(3)	80.0%	(8)	71.8%	(140)	62.5%	(5)	76.7%	(69)	81.5%	(347)	74.8%	(1355)	81.2%	(13)	76.8%	(43)	83.1%	(730)	0.0%	(0)
direktor, -ica	99.0%	(101)	100.0%	(32)	64.4%	(114)	79.7%	(2499)	59.3%	(233)	73.7%	(960)	53.1%	(5444)	64.2%	(15313)	52.1%	(62)	51.0%	(358)	72.9%	(4904)	72.9%	(43)
ravnatelj, -ica ‘director’	1.0%	(1)	0.0%	(0)	35.6%	(63)	20.3%	(635)	40.7%	(160)	26.3%	(342)	46.9%	(4802)	35.8%	(8551)	47.9%	(57)	49.0%	(344)	27.1%	(1824)	27.1%	(16)

efekt	56.7%	(34)	40.0%	(6)	54.7%	(35)	54.7%	(248)	80.1%	(209)	33.2%	(74)	26.8%	(354)	29.5%	(1130)	30.3%	(10)	20.1%	(59)	–	–	73.3%	(22)
učinak 'effect'	43.3%	(26)	60.0%	(9)	45.3%	(29)	45.3%	(205)	19.9%	(52)	66.8%	(149)	73.2%	(966)	70.5%	(2696)	69.7%	(23)	79.9%	(235)	–	–	26.7%	(8)
ekonomija	5.0%	(13)	1.3%	(1)	30.4%	(21)	18.1%	(244)	45.7%	(37)	13.2%	(82)	15.3%	(730)	14.0%	(2190)	21.1%	(42)	10.0%	(168)	21.1%	(1011)	64.3%	(36)
gospodarstvo	5.4%	(14)	0.0%	(0)	36.2%	(25)	72.5%	(977)	46.9%	(38)	77.0%	(480)	80.0%	(3814)	81.1%	(12667)	55.3%	(110)	86.9%	(1463)	74.1%	(3548)	17.9%	(10)
privreda 'economy'	89.6%	(234)	98.7%	(74)	33.3%	(23)	9.4%	(127)	7.4%	(6)	9.8%	(61)	4.7%	(226)	4.8%	(754)	23.6%	(47)	3.1%	(53)	4.7%	(226)	17.9%	(10)
emigrant, -ica	60.0%	(3)		(0)	62.5%	(5)	57.6%	(166)	55.0%	(22)	44.4%	(12)	16.7%	(20)	26.9%	(248)	30.3%	(10)	19.1%	(33)	–	–	0.0%	(0)
iseljenik, -ica 'emigrant'	40.0%	(2)		(0)	37.5%	(3)	42.4%	(122)	45.0%	(18)	55.6%	(15)	83.3%	(100)	73.1%	(673)	69.7%	(23)	80.9%	(140)	–	–	100.0%	(1)
Evropa,	100.0%	*(106)	100.0%	(46)	56.5%	(108)	3.7%	(97)	0.8%	(4)	1.0%	(6)	0.8%	(34)	0.9%	(188)	3.7%	(16)	0.4%	(7)	–	–	11.1%	(8)
Europa 'Europe'	0.0%	*(0)	0.0%	(0)	43.5%	(83)	96.3%	(2509)	99.2%	(477)	99.0%	(615)	99.2%	(4371)	99.1%	(20791)	96.3%	(414)	99.6%	(1980)	–	–	88.9%	(64)
faktor	98.4%	(125)	87.5%	(7)	82.9%	(34)	42.0%	(136)	61.7%	(50)	42.7%	(41)	49.3%	(307)	50.4%	(1079)	14.8%	(9)	6.4%	(21)	36.1%	(307)	78.7%	(37)
čimbenik 'factor'	1.6%	(2)	12.5%	(1)	17.1%	(7)	58.0%	(188)	38.3%	(31)	57.3%	(55)	50.7%	(316)	49.6%	(1062)	85.2%	(52)	93.6%	(309)	63.9%	(543)	21.3%	(10)
finale	83.3%	(10)	59.4%	(19)	73.3%	(11)	54.3%	(245)	62.7%	(52)	72.6%	(276)	68.4%	(2067)	76.9%	(5991)	42.9%	(3)	71.3%	(92)	76.9%	(2240)	73.3%	(11)
završnica 'finale, final(s)'	16.7%	(2)	40.6%	(13)	26.7%	(4)	45.7%	(206)	37.3%	(31)	27.4%	(104)	31.6%	(954)	23.1%	(1798)	57.1%	(4)	28.7%	(37)	23.1%	(673)	26.7%	(4)
firma	43.8%	(7)	0.0%	(0)	43.2%	(51)	1.7%	(53)	13.9%	(23)	0.6%	(7)	2.8%	(281)	3.3%	(676)	6.5%	(6)	0.7%	(10)	3.9%	(196)	80.4%	(181)
tvrtka 'firm'	56.2%	(9)	100.0%	(5)	56.8%	(67)	98.3%	(3063)	86.1%	(143)	99.4%	(1124)	97.2%	(9660)	96.7%	(19710)	93.5%	(86)	99.3%	(1374)	96.1%	(4862)	19.6%	(44)
geografija	40.0%	(6)		(0)	100.0%	(10)	46.9%	(15)	58.8%	(20)	54.5%	(6)	41.9%	(26)	43.2%	(64)	66.7%	(2)	35.7%	(5)	28.2%	(24)	0.0%	(0)
zemljopis 'geography'	60.0%	(9)		(0)	0.0%	(0)	53.1%	(17)	41.2%	(14)	45.5%	(5)	58.1%	(36)	56.8%	(84)	33.3%	(1)	64.3%	(9)	71.8%	(61)	100.0%	(7)
glasanje	100.0%	(3)	100.0%	(8)	77.8%	(7)	7.7%	(24)	31.3%	(5)	9.3%	(5)	30.7%	(248)	14.4%	(390)	15.8%	(3)	2.8%	(3)	5.6%	(35)	69.6%	(16)
glasovanje 'voting'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	22.2%	(2)	92.3%	(289)	68.7%	(11)	90.7%	(49)	69.3%	(560)	85.6%	(2315)	84.2%	(16)	97.2%	(104)	94.4%	(595)	30.4%	(7)

(*continued*)

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	Moguš (1935–1977, 1m)		**Šojat (1980, 130k)**		***Feral Tribune* (2001–02, 0.6m)**		***Nacional* (1997–2000, 6.9m)**		***Vijenac* (2001–02, 1.5m)**		***Večernji list* (1999, 2.2m)**		***Glas Slavonije* (2002–2005, 17m)**		***Vjesnik* (2000–03, 46.6m)**		***Hrvatsko slovo* (2001–02, 0.5m)**		***Fokus* (2003–2005, 2.7m)**		**MCC (1997–1999, 14m)**		**Blog corpus (2004–2005, 1m)**	
gledalac	100.0%	(48)	92.1%	(35)	48.8%	(20)	1.4%	(11)	4.5%	(19)	0.3%	(1)	0.1%	(1)	3.1%	(107)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	3.8%	(70)	36.0%	(9)
gledatelj 'watcher, viewer'	0.0%	(0)	7.9%	(3)	51.2%	(21)	98.6%	(749)	95.5%	(402)	99.7%	(360)	99.9%	(1502)	96.9%	(3354)	100.0%	(42)	100.0%	(139)	96.2%	(1758)	64.0%	(16)
godišnjica	71.8%	(56)	71.4%	(5)	52.6%	(20)	43.0%	(135)	20.2%	(71)	27.1%	(29)	28.5%	(344)	22.4%	(900)	17.8%	(18)	13.3%	(46)	–	–	64.7%	(11)
obljetnica 'anniversary'	28.2%	(22)	28.6%	(2)	47.4%	(18)	57.0%	(179)	79.8%	(281)	72.9%	(78)	71.5%	(864)	77.6%	(3126)	82.2%	(83)	86.7%	(300)	–	–	35.3%	(6)
gr(j)eška	52.3%	(46)	78.3%	(18)	83.7%	(72)	12.3%	(86)	58.4%	(73)	17.6%	(34)	22.7%	(375)	24.9%	(1220)	18.4%	(14)	3.6%	(8)	24.6%	(338)	73.2%	(93)
pogr(j)eška 'mistake'	47.7%	(42)	21.7%	(5)	16.3%	(14)	87.7%	(616)	41.6%	(52)	82.4%	(159)	77.3%	(1280)	75.1%	(3678)	81.6%	(62)	96.4%	(215)	75.4%	(1035)	26.8%	(34)
grupa	69.7%	(200)	83.6%	(46)	48.0%	(83)	49.6%	(1552)	57.9%	(375)	32.6%	(284)	27.5%	(1915)	24.4%	(5655)	31.8%	(67)	21.3%	(228)	27.2%	(2016)	53.5%	(85)
skupina 'group'	30.3%	(87)	16.4%	(9)	52.0%	(90)	50.4%	(1575)	42.1%	(273)	67.4%	(586)	72.5%	(5045)	75.6%	(17552)	68.2%	(144)	78.7%	(842)	72.8%	(5395)	46.5%	(74)
hapšenje	100.0%	(6)	100.0%	(10)	78.8%	(41)	21.2%	(80)	36.4%	(4)	3.4%	(2)	2.3%	(18)	3.3%	(93)	9.1%	(2)	1.1%	(1)	3.1%	(15)	0.0%	(0)
uhićenje 'arrest'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	21.2%	(11)	78.8%	(298)	63.6%	(7)	96.6%	(56)	97.7%	(759)	96.7%	(2755)	90.9%	(20)	98.9%	(90)	96.9%	(472)	100.0%	(3)
izuzetno	76.7%	(23)	**–	–	50.0%	(27)	17.2%	(201)	9.0%	(33)	26.6%	(81)	49.7%	(1482)	36.1%	(2095)	34.0%	(18)	13.9%	(56)	–	–	59.3%	(32)
iznimno 'exceptionally'	23.3%	(7)	–	–	50.0%	(27)	82.8%	(968)	91.0%	(334)	73.4%	(223)	50.3%	(1497)	63.9%	(3714)	66.0%	(35)	86.1%	(346)	–	–	40.7%	(22)
izvještaj	100.0%	(55)	100.0%	(21)	80.3%	(49)	43.1%	(527)	49.1%	(28)	45.5%	(143)	11.8%	(327)	21.5%	(1991)	27.5%	(28)	8.0%	(30)	25.1%	(769)	63.8%	(30)
izvješće 'report'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	19.7%	(12)	56.9%	(697)	50.9%	(29)	54.5%	(171)	88.2%	(2444)	78.5%	(7255)	72.5%	(74)	92.0%	(347)	74.9%	(2297)	36.2%	(17)
kandidat	100.0%	(49)	100.0%	(17)	100.0%	(47)	100.0%	(1028)	97.5%	(79)	100.0%	(198)	99.0%	(3156)	99.8%	(11095)	100.0%	(39)	100.0%	(321)	99.7%	(2090)	100.0%	(84)
pristupnik 'candidate'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	2.5%	(2)	0.0%	(0)	1.0%	(33)	0.2%	(18)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.3%	(6)	0.0%	(0)

klavir	100.0%	(15)	100.0%	(3)	100.0%	(5)	79.6%	(109)	31.5%	(62)	81.8%	(27)	65.4%	(149)	43.2%	(252)	42.1%	(8)	31.4%	(11)	40.6%	(95)	100.0%	(13)
glasovir 'piano'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	20.4%	(28)	68.5%	(135)	18.2%	(6)	34.6%	(79)	56.8%	(332)	57.9%	(11)	68.6%	(24)	59.4%	(139)	0.0%	(0)
komisija	98.7%	(75)	100.0%	(60)	73.0%	(54)	59.0%	(731)	62.6%	(72)	48.7%	(224)	45.4%	(1942)	59.6%	(8531)	49.3%	(69)	69.4%	(394)	52.5%	(2031)	68.4%	(13)
povjerenstvo 'commission'	1.3%	(1)	0.0%	(0)	27.0%	(20)	41.0%	(508)	37.4%	(43)	51.3%	(236)	54.6%	(2335)	40.4%	(5781)	50.7%	(71)	30.6%	(174)	47.5%	(1834)	31.6%	(6)
kompjuter	0.0%	(0)		(0)	16.6%	(2)	2.1%	(9)	2.0%	(2)	5.7%	(13)	0.3%	(2)	12.8%	(221)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	–	–	56.0%	(93)
kompjutor	33.3%	(1)		(0)	41.7%	(5)	53.1%	(225)	27.5%	(28)	18.1%	(41)	28.3%	(189)	21.5%	(370)	23.1%	(3)	11.3%	(11)	–	–	11.4%	(19)
računalo 'computer'	66.7%	(2)		(0)	41.7%	(5)	44.8%	(190)	70.5%	(72)	76.2%	(173)	71.4%	(477)	65.7%	(1132)	76.9%	(10)	88.7%	(86)	–	–	32.5%	(54)
muzika	40.8%	(78)	40.6%	(13)	30.8%	(4)	2.2%	(40)	2.1%	(37)	2.1%	(6)	1.4%	(26)	3.9%	(178)	3.0%	(2)	0.7%	(4)	1.5%	(47)	40.7%	(85)
glazba 'music'	59.2%	(113)	59.4%	(19)	69.2%	(9)	97.8%	(1745)	97.9%	(1720)	97.9%	(280)	98.6%	(1872)	96.1%	(4356)	97.0%	(65)	99.3%	(569)	98.5%	(3170)	59.3%	(124)
nesumnjivo	69.6%	(16)	**–	–	37.5%	(9)	62.2%	(194)	6.7%	(11)	22.7%	(17)	24.6%	(119)	39.2%	(779)	27.6%	(8)	34.0%	(33)	–	–	37.5%	(3)
nedvojbeno 'undoubtedly'	30.4%	(7)	–	–	62.5%	(15)	37.8%	(118)	93.3%	(153)	77.3%	(58)	75.4%	(364)	60.8%	(1210)	72.4%	(21)	66.0%	(64)	–	–	62.5%	(5)
nivo	51.8%	(59)	11.6%	(5)	15.0%	(19)	1.9%	(24)	5.8%	(35)	2.1%	(9)	2.4%	(105)	1.8%	(230)	3.4%	(6)	1.4%	(15)	–	–	45.1%	(51)
razina 'level'	48.2%	(55)	88.4%	(38)	85.0%	(108)	98.1%	(1227)	94.2%	(568)	97.9%	(412)	97.6%	(4248)	98.2%	(12881)	96.6%	(172)	98.6%	(1032)	–	–	54.9%	(62)
oficir	90.7%	(68)	100.0%	(5)	34.6%	(18)	24.7%	(114)	31.3%	(5)	12.3%	(10)	18.9%	(82)	11.3%	(262)	44.8%	(26)	19.0%	(26)	16.2%	(103)	64.3%	(9)
časnik 'officer'	9.3%	(7)	0.0%	(0)	65.4%	(34)	75.3%	(347)	68.7%	(11)	87.7%	(71)	81.1%	(351)	88.7%	(2058)	55.2%	(32)	81.0%	(111)	83.8%	(533)	35.7%	(5)
opozicija	92.9%	(26)	100.0%	(9)	91.8%	(45)	34.8%	(1041)	40.4%	(19)	9.4%	(19)	23.4%	(317)	20.7%	(1164)	7.0%	(8)	12.6%	(35)	11.1%	(218)	30.0%	(3)
oporba 'opposition'	7.1%	(2)	0.0%	(0)	8.2%	(4)	65.2%	(1949)	59.6%	(28)	90.6%	(183)	76.6%	(1039)	79.3%	(4450)	93.0%	(107)	87.4%	(242)	88.9%	(1752)	70.0%	(7)
originalnost	100.0%	(7)	100.0%	(1)	100.0%	(2)	82.6%	(19)	42.9%	(18)	70.0%	(7)	60.3%	(38)	66.3%	(120)	50.0%	(1)	73.3%	(11)	–	–	100.0%	(6)
izvornost 'originality'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	17.4%	(4)	57.1%	(24)	30.0%	(3)	39.7%	(25)	33.7%	(61)	50.0%	(1)	26.7%	(4)	–	–	0.0%	(0)
pasoš	100.0%	(1)		(0)	38.5%	(15)	7.5%	(17)	3.8%	(1)	0.0%	(0)	1.9%	(8)	2.2%	(19)	8.0%	(2)	5.3%	(2)	–	–	20.0%	(1)
putovnica 'passport'	0.0%	(0)		(0)	61.5%	(24)	92.5%	(209)	96.2%	(25)	100.0%	(78)	98.1%	(406)	97.8%	(842)	92.0%	(23)	94.7%	(36)	–	–	80.0%	(4)

(*continued*)

Continued

	Moguš (1935–1977, 1m)		**Šojat (1980, 130k)**		***Feral Tribune* (2001–02, 0.6m)**		***Nacional* (1997–2000, 6.9m)**		***Vijenac* (2001–02, 1.5m)**		***Večernji list* (1999, 2.2m)**		***Glas Slavonije* (2002–2005, 17m)**		***Vjesnik* (2000–03, 46.6m)**		***Hrvatsko slovo* (2001–02, 0.5m)**		***Fokus* (2003–2005, 2.7m)**		**MCC (1997–1999, 14m)**		**Blog corpus (2004–2005, 1m)**	
patrola	73.3%	(11)		(0)	62.5%	(5)	81.6%	(31)	100.0%	(1)	30.8%	(8)	27.0%	(101)	23.7%	(125)	66.7%	(4)	37.5%	(3)	21.8%	(43)	90.9%	(10)
ophodnja 'patrol'	26.7%	(4)		(0)	37.5%	(3)	18.4%	(7)	0.0%	(0)	69.2%	(18)	73.0%	(273)	76.3%	(402)	33.3%	(2)	62.5%	(5)	78.2%	(154)	9.1%	(1)
pauza	34.8%	(72)	75.0%	(3)	100.0%	(10)	40.9%	(81)	42.9%	(27)	20.0%	(16)	19.4%	(156)	25.9%	(398)	37.5%	(3)	0.0%	(0)	26.3%	(89)	83.0%	(44)
stanka 'pause'	65.2%	(135)	25.0%	(1)	0.0%	(0)	59.1%	(117)	57.1%	(36)	80.0%	(64)	80.6%	(647)	74.1%	(1138)	62.5%	(5)	100.0%	(26)	73.7%	(250)	17.0%	(9)
pažnja	95.3%	(121)	91.5%	(43)	56.8%	(21)	50.3%	(554)	29.1%	(99)	30.2%	(76)	28.3%	(455)	37.0%	(1773)	27.3%	(15)	10.9%	(39)	–	–	86.0%	(123)
pozornost 'attention'	4.7%	(6)	8.5%	(4)	43.2%	(16)	49.7%	(547)	70.9%	(241)	69.8%	(176)	71.7%	(1154)	63.0%	(3016)	72.7%	(40)	89.1%	(320)	–	–	14.0%	(20)
penzija	25.7%	(9)	7.7%	(1)	26.8%	(11)	4.1%	(23)	3.3%	(1)	1.2%	(4)	0.9%	(17)	0.7%	(51)	0.0%	(0)	0.5%	(1)	–	–	63.0%	(29)
mirovina 'pension'	74.3%	(26)	92.3%	(12)	73.2%	(30)	95.9%	(542)	96.7%	(29)	98.8%	(337)	99.1%	(1844)	99.3%	(7168)	100.0%	(52)	99.5%	(213)	–	–	37.0%	(17)
period	23.4%	(40)	9.8%	(5)	8.6%	(11)	2.3%	(43)	1.2%	(8)	5.3%	(17)	3.1%	(114)	3.3%	(343)	3.2%	(5)	0.4%	(4)	–	–	52.7%	(49)
razdoblje 'period'	76.6%	(131)	90.2%	(46)	91.4%	(117)	97.7%	(1855)	98.8%	(666)	94.7%	(301)	96.9%	(3620)	96.7%	(9905)	96.8%	(151)	99.6%	(1043)	–	–	47.3%	(44)
porijeklo	66.7%	(20)	100.0%	(11)	82.5%	(47)	10.0%	(41)	14.7%	(21)	41.4%	(46)	5.9%	(30)	47.8%	(992)	20.0%	(11)	5.8%	(10)	28.6%	(230)	85.2%	(23)
podrijetlo 'origin'	33.3%	(10)	0.0%	(0)	17.5%	(10)	90.0%	(369)	85.3%	(122)	58.6%	(65)	94.1%	(477)	52.2%	(1082)	80.0%	(44)	94.2%	(163)	71.4%	(575)	14.8%	(4)
posjetilac	100.0%	(24)	75.0%	(3)	15.4%	(2)	2.4%	(8)	5.4%	(10)	0.7%	(1)	0.6%	(7)	6.4%	(165)	0.0%	(0)	1.7%	(2)	5.1%	(42)	23.5%	(8)
posjetitelj 'visitor'	0.0%	(0)	25.0%	(1)	84.6%	(11)	97.6%	(321)	94.6%	(174)	99.3%	(136)	99.4%	(1227)	93.6%	(2397)	100.0%	(8)	98.3%	(119)	94.9%	(775)	76.5%	(26)
prilika	94.2%	(278)	96.8%	(122)	92.4%	(219)	87.4%	(2590)	68.1%	(498)	80.3%	(671)	72.3%	(6014)	71.0%	(14614)	78.9%	(206)	44.3%	(426)	–	–	93.6%	(306)
prigoda 'opportunity, occasion'	5.8%	(17)	3.2%	(4)	7.6%	(18)	12.6%	(374)	31.9%	(233)	19.7%	(165)	27.7%	(2299)	29.0%	(5963)	21.1%	(55)	55.7%	(535)	–	–	6.4%	(21)
prisutnost	98.0%	(49)	50.0%	(2)	71.0%	(22)	62.7%	(183)	67.9%	(72)	28.7%	(33)	40.1%	(321)	33.9%	(801)	48.4%	(15)	24.7%	(38)	26.8%	(268)	61.1%	(11)
nazočnost 'presence'	2.0%	(1)	50.0%	(2)	29.0%	(9)	37.3%	(109)	32.1%	(34)	71.3%	(82)	59.9%	(479)	66.1%	(1564)	51.6%	(16)	75.3%	(116)	73.2%	(731)	38.9%	(7)

progres	16.1%	(9)	0.0%	(0)	18.5%	(5)	3.3%	(8)	4.8%	(4)	0.0%	(0)	5.8%	(43)	4.1%	(110)	0.0%	(0)	1.8%	(4)	–	–	7.1%	(1)
napredak 'progress'	83.9%	(47)	100.0%	(9)	81.5%	(22)	96.7%	(232)	95.2%	(79)	100.0%	(68)	94.2%	(698)	95.9%	(2564)	100.0%	(30)	98.2%	(219)	–	–	92.9%	(13)
propaganda	95.0%	(19)	100.0%	(6)	81.8%	(18)	64.7%	(207)	77.8%	(49)	47.1%	(40)	23.5%	(81)	33.6%	(401)	42.1%	(24)	16.0%	(21)	26.0%	(148)	87.5%	(7)
promidžba, (-čba) 'propaganda, promotion'	5.0%	(1)	0.0%	(0)	18.2%	(4)	35.3%	(113)	22.2%	(14)	52.9%	(45)	76.5%	(263)	66.4%	(794)	57.9%	(33)	84.0%	(110)	74.0%	(422)	12.5%	(1)
protest	84.6%	(11)	88.9%	(8)	31.1%	(14)	27.9%	(95)	46.7%	(14)	8.7%	(17)	5.4%	(67)	11.5%	(594)	9.8%	(4)	4.5%	(6)	7.4%	(150)	70.0%	(7)
prosvjed 'protest'	15.4%	(2)	11.1%	(1)	68.9%	(31)	72.1%	(245)	53.3%	(16)	91.3%	(178)	94.6%	(1169)	88.5%	(4559)	90.2%	(37)	95.5%	(127)	92.6%	(1867)	30.0%	(3)
radnik, -ica	100.0%	(381)	100.0%	(169)	48.1%	(26)	59.7%	(891)	53.7%	(65)	73.7%	(573)	63.4%	(6805)	62.7%	(10397)	44.8%	(47)	69.7%	(544)	–	–	63.7%	(58)
djelatnik, -ica 'worker; activist, participant'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	51.9%	(28)	40.3%	(601)	46.3%	(56)	26.3%	(204)	36.6%	(3927)	37.3%	(6179)	55.2%	(58)	30.3%	(236)	–	–	36.3%	(33)
raskršće	97.7%	(43)	100.0%	(2)	63.6%	(7)	17.1%	(6)	12.5%	(1)	2.9%	(1)	0.6%	(4)	6.1%	(33)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	1.3%	(3)	50.0%	(15)
raskrižje 'intersection'	2.3%	(1)	0.0%	(0)	36.4%	(4)	82.9%	(29)	87.5%	(7)	97.1%	(34)	99.4%	(656)	93.9%	(505)	100.0%	(27)	100.0%	(16)	98.7%	(228)	50.0%	(15)
reciklaža,		(0)		(0)		(0)	100.0%	(8)	100.0%	(10)	100.0%	(4)	100.0%	(65)	97.7%	(86)		(0)	100.0%	(17)	–	–	100.0%	(2)
oporaba 'recycling'		(0)		(0)		(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	2.3%	(2)		(0)	0.0%	(0)	–	–	0.0%	(0)
rezultat	68.0%	(236)	77.8%	(105)	55.6%	(133)	64.6%	(2214)	62.8%	(306)	63.7%	(708)	76.4%	(8462)	95.4%	(23536)	42.5%	(131)	66.3%	(1195)	–	–	58.9%	(122)
posljedica 'result'	32.0%	(111)	22.2%	(30)	44.4%	(106)	35.4%	(1213)	37.2%	(181)	36.3%	(404)	23.6%	(2619)	4.6%	(1137)	57.5%	(177)	33.7%	(608)	–	–	41.1%	(85)
saopćenje	100.0%	(31)	100.0%	(13)	44.4%	(16)	1.2%	(4)	20.0%	(1)	0.0%	(0)	0.1%	(1)	0.1%	(8)	0.0%	(0)	2.1%	(1)	0.0%	(1)	0.0%	(0)
priopćenje 'announcement'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	55.6%	(20)	98.8%	(326)	80.0%	(4)	100.0%	(165)	99.9%	(1448)	99.9%	(6035)	100.0%	(23)	97.9%	(46)	100.0%	(2382)	100.0%	(4)
saučešće	39.1%	(9)		(0)	25.0%	(3)	6.3%	(2)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.3%	(1)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	–	–	0.0%	(0)
sućut 'sympathy'	60.9%	(14)		(0)	75.0%	(9)	93.7%	(30)	100.0%	(11)	100.0%	(20)	100.0%	(94)	99.7%	(383)	100.0%	(6)	100.0%	(18)	–	–	100.0%	(8)

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	Moguš (1935–1977, 1m)		Šojat (1980, 130k)		*Feral Tribune* (2001–02, 0.6m)		*Nacional* (1997–2000, 6.9m)		*Vijenac* (2001–02, 1.5m)		*Večernji list* (1999, 2.2m)		*Glas Slavonije* (2002–2005, 17m)		*Vjesnik* (2000–03, 46.6m)		*Hrvatsko slovo* (2001–02, 0.5m)		*Fokus* (2003–2005, 2.7m)		MCC (1997–1999, 14m)		Blog corpus (2004–2005, 1m)	
sekretar, -ica	82.2%	(111)	81.2%	(26)	18.9%	(10)	19.4%	(158)	8.2%	(6)	7.3%	(26)	2.5%	(57)	2.1%	(152)	26.1%	(12)	16.5%	(43)	3.0%	(23)	54.9%	(28)
tajnik, -ica 'secretary'	17.8%	(24)	18.8%	(6)	81.1%	(43)	80.6%	(656)	91.8%	(67)	92.7%	(329)	97.5%	(2220)	97.9%	(7001)	73.9%	(34)	83.5%	(218)	97.0%	(737)	45.1%	(23)
sistem	68.4%	(303)	98.8%	(84)	32.3%	(60)	17.2%	(357)	10.0%	(40)	7.1%	(58)	4.4%	(240)	5.4%	(1055)	6.9%	(17)	1.9%	(30)	6.3%	(306)	51.0%	(52)
sustav 'system'	31.6%	(140)	1.2%	(1)	67.7%	(126)	82.8%	(1714)	90.0%	(362)	92.9%	(761)	95.6%	(5216)	94.6%	(18497)	93.1%	(230)	98.1%	(1528)	93.7%	(4540)	49.0%	(50)
spisak	16.2%	(6)	28.6%	(2)	24.6%	(16)	7.9%	(46)	1.4%	(2)	0.4%	(1)	0.5%	(10)	1.7%	(94)	0.0%	(0)	4.5%	(12)	–	–	24.7%	(24)
popis 'list'	83.8%	(31)	71.4%	(5)	75.4%	(49)	92.1%	(538)	98.6%	(144)	99.6%	(230)	99.5%	(1890)	98.3%	(5344)	100.0%	(45)	95.5%	(253)	–	–	75.3%	(73)
sport	88.2%	(15)	100.0%	(19)	97.1%	(34)	92.2%	(833)	73.1%	(38)	91.4%	(370)	89.4%	(2045)	82.1%	(6013)	44.8%	(13)	15.8%	(52)	80.2%	(4622)	98.8%	(84)
šport 'sport(s)'	11.8%	(2)	0.0%	(0)	2.9%	(1)	7.8%	(70)	26.9%	(14)	8.6%	(35)	10.6%	(243)	17.9%	(1314)	55.2%	(16)	84.2%	(278)	19.8%	(1143)	1.2%	(1)
sumnja	97.6%	(80)	86.4%	(19)	81.8%	(90)	65.4%	(703)	59.0%	(92)	63.0%	(221)	69.7%	(1804)	76.5%	(6365)	56.0%	(51)	52.1%	(190)	–	–	64.2%	(34)
dvojba 'doubt'	2.4%	(2)	13.6%	(3)	18.2%	(20)	34.6%	(372)	41.0%	(64)	37.0%	(130)	30.3%	(786)	23.5%	(1955)	44.0%	(40)	47.9%	(175)	–	–	35.8%	(19)
učesnik, -ica	15.6%	(7)	2.7%	(1)	10.3%	(6)	0.0%	(0)	0.6%	(1)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(1)	0.3%	(14)	0.0%	(0)	0.4%	(1)	1.2%	(11)	0.0%	(0)
sudionik, -ica 'participant'	84.4%	(38)	97.3%	(36)	89.7%	(52)	100.0%	(502)	99.4%	(170)	100.0%	(186)	100.0%	(2093)	99.7%	(4969)	100.0%	(63)	99.6%	(278)	98.8%	(921)	100.0%	(32)
uniforma	77.8%	(49)	100.0%	(1)	69.4%	(34)	65.7%	(182)	55.6%	(5)	28.6%	(16)	36.4%	(95)	45.4%	(352)	26.9%	(7)	38.5%	(20)	33.4%	(120)	73.3%	(22)
odora 'uniform'	22.2%	(14)	0.0%	(0)	30.6%	(15)	34.3%	(95)	44.4%	(4)	71.4%	(40)	63.6%	(166)	54.6%	(423)	73.1%	(19)	61.5%	(32)	66.6%	(239)	26.7%	(8)
upotreba	100.0%	(128)	100.0%	(9)	80.0%	(28)	69.8%	(183)	6.5%	(13)	37.8%	(82)	40.0%	(339)	44.0%	(1236)	19.6%	(11)	17.2%	(42)	32.0%	(331)	58.1%	(18)
uporaba	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	20.0%	(7)	30.2%	(79)	92.5%	(186)	62.2%	(135)	60.0%	(509)	55.8%	(1570)	80.4%	(45)	80.3%	(196)	67.2%	(695)	41.9%	(13)
poraba 'use'	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	1.0%	(2)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.2%	(5)	0.0%	(0)	2.5%	(6)	0.8%	(8)	0.0%	(0)
uslov	2.9%	(12)	0.0%	(0)	14.5%	(16)	0.1%	(2)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(1)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.9%	(8)	–	–	0.0%	(0)
uvjet 'condition'	97.1%	(409)	100.0%	(78)	85.5%	(94)	99.9%	(1409)	100.0%	(279)	100.0%	(643)	100.0%	(4233)	100.0%	(14550)	100.0%	(153)	99.1%	(904)	–	–	100.0%	(104)

uticaj	0.0%	(0)	5.6%	(1)	3.8%	(3)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.7%	(2)	0.2%	(2)	0.4%	(19)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	–	–	0.0%	(0)
utjecaj 'influence'	100.0%	(136)	94.4%	(17)	96.2%	(77)	100.0%	(1692)	100.0%	(330)	99.3%	(265)	99.8%	(1284)	99.6%	(5094)	100.0%	(86)	100.0%	(471)	–	–	100.0%	(68)
utisak	27.0%	(17)	10.5%	(2)	18.1%	(13)	1.3%	(11)	1.7%	(6)	1.9%	(4)	0.4%	(6)	1.5%	(53)	0.0%	(0)	2.7%	(6)	2.1%	(23)	4.2%	(5)
dojam 'impression'	73.0%	(46)	89.5%	(17)	81.9%	(59)	98.7%	(852)	98.3%	(340)	98.1%	(202)	99.6%	(1447)	98.5%	(3545)	100.0%	(81)	97.3%	(219)	97.9%	(1056)	95.8%	(113)
zaista	71.1%	(175)	70.7%	(41)	19.9%	(54)	27.0%	(885)	38.8%	(270)	37.1%	(185)	22.2%	(961)	35.5%	(3893)	33.5%	(85)	55.9%	(400)	–	–	55.6%	(234)
doista 'really, indeed'	28.9%	(71)	29.3%	(17)	80.1%	(217)	73.0%	(2390)	61.2%	(425)	62.9%	(314)	77.8%	(3363)	64.5%	(7065)	66.5%	(169)	44.1%	(316)	–	–	44.4%	(187)
zvanično	3.3%	(1)	**–	–	4.4%	(2)	0.2%	(1)	0.0%	(0)	0.0%	(0)	0.2%	(3)	0.1%	(2)	0.0%	(0)	2.3%	(3)	–	–	0.0%	(0)
službeno 'officially'	96.7%	(29)	–	–	95.6%	(43)	99.8%	(433)	100.0%	(47)	100.0%	(148)	99.8%	(1315)	99.9%	(3610)	100.0%	(35)	97.7%	(129)	–	–	100.0%	(16)

*The frequency dictionary by Moguš et al. (1999) does not include proper nouns, so these figures are for the adjectival forms *evropski, europski*.
**Šojat (1983) does not give separate figures for the adverbial forms (only adjectives are used as headwords in this dictionary).

Notes

1 The Croatian language question and Croatian identity

1. A moment's consideration will show that this equation is not as straightforward as it first appears. For example, the German language is shared by Austria and other countries in Europe, each of which has its own sense of national identity, and the situation with Chinese is even more complex. What we commonly refer to as the Chinese language is actually a collection of related but not necessarily mutually intelligible language varieties which share a common writing system. In the People's Republic of China, a Mandarin variety based on the Beijing dialect with a prescribed set of standard characters is the official standard language (known as Putonghua), which serves a unifying function within the country. The Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, which is predominantly Cantonese-speaking, gives official status to both Chinese and English. English documents describing the official Hong Kong language policy sometimes seem to treat 'Chinese' as a cover term for Cantonese and Mandarin (Putonghua), and sometimes distinguish between 'Chinese' and Putonghua (see http://www.csb.gov.hk/english/aboutus/org/scsd/1470.html, accessed 18 March 2014). Putonghua has been gaining in importance in Hong Kong due to the political and economic reintegration with mainland China since 1997, but the government promotes bi- or tri-lingualism. For example, Cantonese, Mandarin, and English are all used in Hong Kong as mediums of instruction in the educational system. Mandarin is also the official language of Taiwan, although the majority of the population speaks Taiwanese. In distinction to mainland China, in Taiwan only traditional Chinese characters are in official use, although there is growing recognition of the need to learn simplified characters for communication with the mainland (see Li and Li 2013 for more information on the Chinese language situation). The available research indicates that users of these different varieties of Chinese possess different and only partially overlapping senses of national/civic and cultural/linguistic identity. Problems with the definition of the term 'language' and its relationship to identity will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 (see also Škiljan 2002).
2. It should be noted here that the statement defining the official language in the new constitution together with the redefinition of the status of the Serbian minority within the Republic of Croatia were seen as direct threats to the rights of the Croatian Serb population (Tanner 1997: 230–1). See Chapter 6 for further discussion.
3. Incidents of this type were reported in the international press in the 1990s; see, for example, Cunliffe-Jones (1996), Hedges (1996b), and Woodard (1996). Although these reports by foreign journalists contain some inaccuracies and are possibly exaggerated, they do give a sense of the charged atmosphere of the time.

4. Brozović (1996: 27) speaks critically about the use of the label 'Yugo-nostalgic' to discredit linguists who try to bring scientific arguments against the excessive purism advocated by some nationalists, but in the other articles cited here he applies this label himself to those who resist changes to the Croatian standard because they still support the idea of a unified Serbo-Croatian language.
5. The designation of official languages in post-World War II Yugoslavia varied in the individual republics over time, but Serbo-Croatian remained an official language name up through the collapse of Yugoslavia and even beyond (see the table given by Gröschel 2009: 346–7). However, it should also be noted that in Croatia and Serbia the names *srpskohrvatski* or *hrvatskosrpski* were used primarily in official or academic contexts, while in everyday speech people normally referred to their language simply as Croatian or Serbian (Gröschel 2009: 29). Throughout the history of Yugoslavia, there continued to be a significant amount of resistance to the idea of a unified standard language, a fact which has not always been adequately recognized abroad (see Chapter 4 for further discussion).
6. In fact, Serbian was simultaneously influenced by Croatian during the Yugoslav period, and some Serbian linguists have complained about the relatively large number of 'Croatianisms' that entered the language (see Pranjković 2008: 90).
7. *Pečenica* can refer to a type of sausage, cured meat, or roasted meat.
8. The choice of this example is decidedly odd, and we should point out that it is taken from a Serbian version of a cookbook published by a cookware manufacturer in Austria. The Croatian version seems to have been deliberately constructed so as to heighten the differences wherever possible, although the authors of HAZU (1996) point out in a footnote that in 'careful Croatian' there would be even more differences.
9. The other represents a regular phonological difference in the reflex of the Proto-Slavic vowel **ě*; see Chapter 3.
10. Purism is a complex phenomenon which can differ in degree and focus in different contexts; see Thomas (1991), Katičić (1992 [1973–1974]). We will return to this topic in Chapter 8.
11. At the time of writing (April 2014), this sketch could be viewed on YouTube (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V6Ia15riHRw).

2 Language and identity: theoretical and conceptual framework

1. If this definition is taken to its logical extreme, a variety could also represent two or more languages used by a single individual or a single linguistic item (a set of one member) with an identifiable social distribution, although the term is not normally used in either of these ways. Given the fact that individual linguistic items can theoretically have unique social distributions, the concept of identifiable varieties as linguistic systems breaks down, and can also be said to have no real existence. Hudson rejects the concept of 'variety X' in the same way as he denies the reality of 'language X' or 'dialect X' (1996: 45). He describes 'linguistic variety' as 'an optional extra, available when needed to

capture generalizations that apply to very large collections of linguistic items, but by no means the only mechanism, or even the most important mechanism, for linking linguistic items to their social context' (1996: 49).

2. To further complicate the picture, in the case of Torlak, Macedonian, and Bulgarian, many of the more striking shared features are the result of intensive language contact in the Balkans (the so-called Balkan *Sprachbund*), which involved non-Slavic languages as well.
3. Similarly, the family tree model also cannot represent structural convergences resulting from contact between genetically unrelated varieties or the development of pidgins and creoles on the basis of two or more genetically unrelated languages.
4. At least, at the level that can be reconstructed using traditional methods. Some scholars would put them in the same hypothetical Nostratic macro-family.
5. For additional discussion of various approaches to the definition of a speech community (including several of the definitions cited here), see Hudson (1996: 24ff.), Irvine (2006).
6. In this sense, individuals can also be seen as members of a number of partially overlapping speech communities.
7. For additional discussion of the relationship between language, speech community, and nation, see Peti-Stantić (2008b: 65–73).
8. For a more detailed discussion of this topic, see Mulder and Rastall (2005). The 'language problem' is similar in many respects to the 'species problem' in biology. Interestingly, biologists and philosophers writing on the species problem tend to draw analogies between species and languages, and treat the latter as objectively real; see Stamos (2003), who makes this comparison at several points and refers to 'the clear horizontal reality of natural languages' (Stamos 2003: 244).
9. In the context of the Croatian language question, the use of 'standard variety' could also be misconstrued as supporting what was the official view during the Yugoslav period, that Croatian is merely the 'western variant' of Serbo-Croatian.
10. Peti-Stantić (2008b: 76) uses both 'literary language' and 'standard language' in her history of standardization processes in the South Slavic region, in order to make a distinction between the language of written works in the pre-standard period (which she refers to as a literary language, *književni jezik*), and the standard language that developed in the 19th century in connection with the awakening of national identity in the modern sense.
11. The ideas of the Prague School linguists were strongly influenced by the specific situation of standard Czech, but the concepts they discuss have general applicability. For a collection of seminal articles, see Horálek et al. (1976).
12. The requirement for an explicitly codified norm raises the question of whether there can be an unwritten standard language. While some linguists maintain that unwritten languages can indeed be standardized (for example, Cooper 1989: 145), since there may be oral models that are considered to represent correct usage, others view this as a metaphorical use of the term and claim that only written languages can possess the full range of features that define a standard language (for example, Joseph 1987: 6).

13. Compare the Prague School term 'linguistic awareness/consciousness' (*jazykové povědomí*, *Sprachbewußtsein*) in 'Allgemeine Grundsätze der Sprachkultur' (1976 [1932]: 76).
14. Spolsky (2004, 2009) advocates the use of 'language management' rather than 'language planning', since the former is more representative of the full range of ways that individuals or institutions attempt to intervene intentionally in linguistic matters. While we agree with this assessment, in the context under discussion here the term 'language planning' seems adequate and we will adhere to this more traditional expression since it is the one most commonly encountered in the literature on standard or national languages.
15. There are a number of book-length treatments of identity as it relates specifically to language which the reader may consult for more information, such as Edwards (1985), Joseph (2004), or Riley (2007). The discussion here owes much to these authors' work.
16. Edwards (1985: 10) concludes his definition with the statement: 'Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past'. However, given the fact that groups may identify with a mythologized version of history and the actual historical origins of a group may be unknown, this does not seem to be an essential feature of ethnic identity. Notice also that Edwards's definition cites language as an objective characteristic, rather than treating it as a social construct itself.

3 Language, dialect, or variant? The status of Croatian and its place in the South Slavic dialect continuum

1. The spelling *ije* may represent either a disyllabic sequence or a diphthong, depending on the dialect.
2. Dialects may also exhibit other patterns of development for the Proto-Slavic vowel **ě*; for example, some čakavian dialects have both *i* and *e* in different environments. In a few štokavian and most kajkavian dialects, the reflex of **ě* is a closed [e] vowel, distinct from the open reflex of **e*, **ę* [ɛ ~ æ].
3. In addition to the references cited below, see, for example, Belić (1958), Hraste (1958), Brozović (1978: 11), Barić et al. (1995: 10).
4. This table focuses on the most common reflexes, which are seen as characteristic of the groups as a whole, and for the most part ignores variants found in some individual dialects. Additional reflexes given in parentheses for čakavian occur in a small number of northwestern dialects, but are interesting since they show affinities with kajkavian and Slovenian.
5. Most Central South Slavic varieties have quantitative distinctions and a complex system of pitch accents, which are indicated using the standard diacritic marks here. The details are not relevant, merely the fact that there are significant prosodic differences among these varieties. Notice particularly that kajkavian and čakavian dialects have a distinct type of rising accent (indicated with a tilde) that is not present in neoštokavian varieties, including the standard languages. Both ekavian and ijekavian pronunciations are accepted in standard Serbian.

6. Parts of this section on the etymology of the ethnonym 'Croat' and the early history of the Croatian people are taken from Langston (2009), with only minor changes; readers may refer to the latter for a more detailed discussion.
7. For brief overviews of the migrations of the Slavs into the Balkans and the early history of the Croats, see Magocsi (1993) and Tanner (1997). Barford (2001) gives a detailed analysis of the archeological and documentary evidence for the expansion of the Slavs into the Balkans, while Evans (1989) does the same specifically for the Croats.
8. See, for example, Guldescu (1964: 33), Mandić (1990 [1971]: 18). For critiques of this purported etymological connection, see Brozović Rončević (1993) and Katičić (1999: 160–3).
9. See, for example, the Croatian Wikipedia page on the 'Iranian theory' and the publications cited there (http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranska_teorija_o_podrijetlu_ Hrvata, accessed 25 November 2013). This theory was also discussed in a television documentary, *The genetic origin of the Croats* (*Genetsko podrijetlo Hrvata*), shown on HTV1 in 2007 (see Obad 2007). More recently, genetic research conducted by a team headed by Dragan Primorac, former Minister of Science, Education, and Sports, has been reported to show that Croats are not Slavs but rather autochthonous inhabitants of the Balkans who have been living there for at least 25,000 years (Kuljiš 2011). The author of this article goes on to say that this is true for all inhabitants of the Balkans except for the Slovenes and possibly the Serbs, 'about whom [referring to the Serbs] we still do not know, because their government has only partly conducted the research, either because of disorganization [the author purposely uses the word *javašluk*, from Turkish, to add an extra derogatory nuance] or because they are afraid of unforeseeable political consequences, because there they are still stoking various nationalistic myths'. While this article reflects a sensationalized (mis)interpretation of scientific research intended for a popular audience, it is representative of continuing efforts to demonstrate a distinct identity for the Croats going back to the distant past (see also Dežulović 2011).
10. For additional discussion of orthographic, grammatical, and lexical differences between the Croatian and Serbian norms, including their treatment in various dictionaries, handbooks, and other scholarly works, see Jaroszewicz (2004: 79ff.).
11. There is currently a certain amount of confusion and inconsistency in these recommendations; see Chapters 7 and 8 for further discussion.
12. According to Anić and Silić (2001: 124) orthographic *ije* (where it reflects an original **ě*) is normally pronounced as a diphthong [i̯ɛ̄] in the standard language; a disyllabic pronunciation [iiɛ] is regional and stylistically marked. Recent grammars treat this /ie/ diphthong as a phoneme of Croatian (for example, Barić et al. 1995: 54), although some linguists question this analysis (see Jaroszewicz 2004: 192–6).
13. The form *ka* is generally prescribed before words beginning with *k, g, h* (see Barić et al. 1999: 680), but in these instances Croats tend to drop the preposition instead; for example, *približio se gradu* 'he approached the city', instead of *približio se ka gradu* (Barić et al. 1995: 280).
14. There is some discrepancy in prescriptive recommendations and actual usage of these forms. The use of *-omu* in the dative versus *-ome* in the locative has been recommended by some authors to distinguish these two case forms,

but both endings are attested for either case in recent usage. Older grammars give *-omu* for the dative and *-om* for the locative, but these case endings were gradually leveled and the norm became *-om* for both dative and locative, with the optional addition of either *-u* or *-e* (see Tafra 1995: 352).

15. Usually; the second-declension endings are also acceptable for these nouns in standard Serbian (see Stanojčić and Popović 2005: 82).
16. The first Serbian film to be commercially distributed in Croatia after the collapse of the former Yugoslavia, Dragojević's *The Wounds* (*Rane*), was shown in Croatia in 1999 with subtitles, which reportedly provoked howls of laughter in cinemas and polemics in the press (see Žanić 2009 for a discussion).
17. The examples below are taken mainly from Algeo (2006) and Tottie (2002).
18. This pattern is often reversed in loanwords; for example, *pasta* is often pronounced [ˈpæstə] in Britain, as opposed to [ˈpɑstə] in the US.
19. Kordić's book *Jezik i nacionalizam* (2010) reiterates the views expressed in these earlier articles. Although Kordić is herself Croatian, she spent 15 years teaching at different German universities and her views on this topic diverge sharply from those of many linguists working in Croatia.
20. The source of the commonly quoted aphorism 'England and America are two nations [or: two countries] divided by a common language', is obscure. It has been attributed to George Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde, and Winston Churchill.

4 The history of Croatian and Serbian standardization

1. Writers frequently refer to the '1,000-year history of the Croatian language'; see, for example, Babić (1991) *Our 1000-year old Croatian language*, or the statement by the Matica hrvatska (1996: 166) that 'already for almost 1,000 years the Croats have had *documented literacy and a literature in their native language*.' HAZU (2007a) gives a succinct version of the history of the standardization of the Croatian language from the viewpoint that these processes took place essentially independently from Serbian.
2. Moguš (1995) offers a detailed history in English of the Croatian language up to 1991, with excerpts and examples from selected works. Banac (1984a) discusses the pre-19th-century period in more detail than we are able to do here, and provides a particularly clear exposition of the broader historical and political context for the development of the Croatian standard language. For more information, see also Ivić (1971), Brozović (1978), Ivić (1984), and Vince (1990 [1978]).
3. See Peti-Stantić (2008b) for further discussion.
4. Old Church Slavic is the earliest documented Slavic language, originally written in a special alphabet referred to as Glagolitic. The first translations into Old Church Slavic were created by the brothers Constantine (who later took the name Cyril) and Methodius for a Byzantine mission to the Slavs of Moravia. After this mission was disbanded in 885 CE, some of their former disciples presumably settled in the Croatian lands, but the precise details of how Church Slavic and the Glagolitic alphabet came to Croatia are a subject of dispute; see Banac (1984a: 192), Tanner (1997: 10). For more information on Old Church Slavic writing and the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, see Schenker (1995).

5. See Moguš 1995 and Peti-Stantić 2008b for a more detailed discussion of the different regional literary traditions, the production of grammars and dictionaries, and specific examples of points of contact and mutual influences. Chronological lists of grammars, dictionaries, and other handbooks are available on the hrvatskiplus website of the Zagrebačka slavistička škola: http://www.hrvatskiplus.org/index.php?option=com_sectionex&view=category&id=10&Itemid=48, accessed 12 June 2014.
6. Croatian leaders also pushed for the return of 'Turkish Croatia', the part of Bosnia that had also been included in the medieval Croatian kingdom (Despalatović 1975: 7).
7. Under French rule, a newspaper entitled *Il Regio Dalmata – Kraglski Dalmatin* (*The King's Dalmatian*) was started in Zadar in 1806, printed with alternating pages in Italian and Croatian. It did not acquire a significant readership because most Croats in Dalmatia were illiterate, and it was published for only a few years (Tanner 1995: 70).
8. This circular was written originally in Latin, and was later published in *Danica Ilirska* (III/24, 17 June 1837) with the Latin text in the left column and an Illyrian translation on the right. For more information see Peti-Stantić 2008b: 84ff.
9. Technically in Buda; Buda and Pest were two separate cities until 1873. Since this distinction is not important for our purposes here, we will refer to both of these cities using the modern combined name.
10. The German version (reprinted as Gaj 1983) differs significantly from the Croatian text, but no comparative study of the two versions has yet been made, to the best of our knowledge.
11. Most sources cite Gaj's new letters with hačeks, as in Czech *(č, ď, ǧ, ľ, ň, š, ž)*, but he actually used a symbol similar to a tilde over the letters (a haček with an additional diagonal line) and was inspired by an earlier orthographical proposal by Pavao Ritter Vitezović (Moguš 1995: 162).
12. Gaj actually lumps *č, ć, š, ž* together and attributes all of these letters to the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and Moravians in the conclusion of his article (*Danica* I/12: 48). The digraphs were originally to be written with an acute accent rather than a dot over the *j*, but this convention is not always observed (for example, the acute accent is used elsewhere in this issue, but on p. 48 Gaj lists *dj, gj, lj, nj, tj* with dots). According to Bašić (1991: 97), the use of the acute accent was officially abandoned in 1838.
13. As in most other Slavic languages, the different orthographies in use in Croatia tended to spell morphological roots consistently, even though the pronunciation might change in different phonological environments. For example, in the noun *grad* [grad] 'city' and the derived adjective *gradski* [gratski], the final consonant of the root is spelled *d* in both forms, even though it is pronounced as [t] in the adjective because of the following voiceless consonant. This is usually referred to as an 'etymological' or 'morphophonemic' spelling, as opposed to a 'phonetic' (or more properly, 'phonological') spelling, which would reflect the actual pronunciation.
14. Gaj attributes this two-part division of the Slavic peoples into Southeastern and Northwestern Slavs to Dobrovský and Kopitar (*Danica* I/34: 235). Gaj was also clearly influenced by Šafařík and Kollár, who offered similar classifications (Despalatović 1975: 87). In an unpublished manuscript, Gaj

describes the štokavian varieties spoken by Catholics in Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia as having been heavily influenced by Serbian, but maintains that they are still part of the Croatian 'subtribe' of South Slavic (Bašić 1991: 95–6).

15. Historians disagree about where precisely to place the beginning of the Illyrian Movement, either in 1832 when Gaj moved to Zagreb and participated in the formation of the Illyrian Society, or later, in 1835 or 1836. This first proclamation in December of 1835 arguably marks the real beginning of Illyrianism as an organized movement (Despalatović 1975: 79).
16. The names of the newspaper and literary supplement actually changed several times over the course of their history. A second version of this proclamation was published on 29 December 1835, in which the name of the newspaper was changed to *Illyrian National News* (*Ilirske narodne novine*, Despalatović 1975: 90).
17. Antun Mažuranić gave essentially the same recommendation in his *Temelji ilirskoga i latinskoga jezika* in 1839, stating that it would be good to always pronounce *ě* as *ie* or *je*, especially when reading aloud and in the schools, so that it would be easier to remember where it is necessary to write this letter (cited by Moguš 1995: 173).
18. Genitive plural forms with a zero ending (such as *sel* and *žen*), reflecting the original Proto-Slavic forms with a final weak jer, are also mentioned in the text.
19. With the exception of the Torlak dialects in southeastern Serbia, which did not play a role in the development of the standard languages.
20. The Serbian Church hierarchy established a new metropolitanate in Karlowitz (Sr(ij)emski Karlovci) in 1691, which was later transformed into a patriarchate.
21. The entire preceding survey of the Serbian developments is based primarily on the account in Ivić (1984), with additional information taken from Ivić (1971). Readers may refer to these works for more details.
22. Bašić attributes a political motive to Kopitar, who was a censor of Slavic books for the Austrian Empire and a supporter of its policies. According to her: 'Among the Serbian refugees in Vienna Kopitar conducted a pro-Austrian policy based on the idea of uniting all South Slavs under Austrian rule' (Bašić 1991: 32–3). At the time, most of modern-day Serbia and all of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the rest of the Balkan territories to the south and east were still under Ottoman rule.
23. This shortened version of a rule by Adelung became an often-repeated motto in Germany. The formula 'Write as you speak' (*Piši kao što govoriš)* has often mistakenly been described as being original to Vuk in studies on the history of Serbian and Croatian.
24. This is not an accurate statement, but it was repeated in the so-called Vienna Literary Agreement of 1850.
25. Born Đorđe Popović in 1825, he later took the name Đuro Daničić after the hero of a native epic song. His first name is also often given as Đura.
26. For Vuk's views on dialects and ethnic groups, see below.
27. On the Croatian side, these were: the historian Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski; the author Dimitrija Demeter; the linguist and poet Ivan Mažuranić; Vinko Pacel, at the time a 25-year-old student of natural sciences at the university in Vienna; and Stjepan Pejaković, who was working in Vienna as a

government clerk. In addition to the Serbs Vuk Karadžić and Đuro Daničić, the agreement was also signed by the Slovene linguist Franc Miklošič, who was also present.
28. Greenberg (2004: 168–71) gives the complete original text with an English translation.
29. The complete text is available in the online *Hrvatski jezični portal* (http://hjp.novi-liber.hr/index.php?show=povijest&chapter=25-kruno_krstic), accessed 2 August 2013. The ideas here are very similar to those expressed by Croatian linguists after Croatia's independence in 1991.
30. The use of the Cyrillic alphabet had been banned already in April 1941; see Samardžija (1993a: 40).
31. See Samardžija (1993a: 46ff.) for a more detailed discussion, including lists of examples. Samardžija (1993b) reproduces the texts of the most important legal acts regulating language in the NDH and recommendations about the use of specific forms.
32. A separate Serbian Royal Academy was formed in 1886 and continued to exist under the name of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in the 20th century, alongside the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts that had been founded in Zagreb in 1866. The full text of the Novi Sad Agreement and an English translation can be found in Greenberg (2004: 172–4).
33. Some sources date the Croatian Spring specifically to 1971, but the beginnings of this push for the decentralization of power date back to 1967 at least. See Tanner (1997: 184ff.) for a more detailed discussion of the complex political developments of this period.

5 Language rights and the treatment of Croatian on the international level

1. The one exception is Luxembourgish, which is an official language in Luxembourg but is not an official language of the EU.
2. Unlike other statements issued by HAZU, this was not published in *Jezik*. The only version we have been able to find is on the website for the Network of Croatian School Librarians, which was taken from an article in the newspaper *Hrvatsko slovo* from 12 June 2007.
3. This incident was reported widely in the Croatian media at the time; see, for example, 'Srpskohrvatski kao službeni jezik zemalja Zapadnog Balkana' (2007). A similar proposal was made by two other representatives in 2010 ('Izgubljeni u prijevodu', 2010).
4. See http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-12578522, http://www.bbc.co.uk/croatian/news/story/2005/12/051223_goodbye.shtml, and http://www.bbc.co.uk/serbian/news/2011/01/110125_wscuts.shtml, all accessed 29 August 2013.
5. Bosniak, corresponding to the native form *bošnjak*, is now the generally preferred term used to refer to this ethnic group. Their language, however, is typically referred to as Bosnian in English.
6. Not surprisingly, attitudes promoting the autonomy of the variety of Croatian used in Bosnia and Herzegovina were not in evidence during the wartime years or immediately afterwards. They are also more prominent in the

areas with a concentrated Croatian population (mainly in the parts of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina across the border from the Dalmatian region of Croatia), as opposed to areas where Croats are only a small minority.

7. See http://www.unistra.fr/index.php?id=325, http://www.slm.uni-hamburg.de/ISlav/aktuell/Ausschreibungen/la_bks_ws201314.pdf, http://www.slm.uni-hamburg.de/ISlav/studium/Modulstruktur_WS11_12/BA_SLA_HF_Tabelaus_WS11_12.pdf, and http://www.ssees.ucl.ac.uk/bascees.htm, all accessed 26 August 2013.

6 Croatian language policy at the national level and the regulation of public language

1. This article remains unchanged in the most recent official text of the Constitution; see Odbor za ustav (2001).
2. Reactions to the official use of Cyrillic in other parts of Croatia have been more muted. Based on the results of the 2011 census showing the local Serbian population to be 51%, Cyrillic signs were posted in the municipality of Udbina in Lika in the summer of 2013 without provoking any disturbances, but local veterans later complained that the census was inaccurate and that the decision to introduce bilingual signs was the result of a political power-sharing deal between the HDZ and the SDSS (Rašović 2013a). There have apparently also been no public demonstrations over this issue in Knin, which was the capital of the self-proclaimed Republic of Serbian Krajina during the war. The Serbian population of Knin itself is under the 33% threshold, but Croatian veterans' groups have noted the posting of bilingual signs in nearby communities and have expressed concerns about their eventual possible appearance in Knin (see 'Ćirilica: Polako, ali sigurno ulazi u Knin', 2013). Because of the horrific nature of the siege of Vukovar and its importance as a symbol of Croatian resistance during the war, it is understandable that the appearance of Cyrillic signs there would be met with greater opposition.
3. Most of the laws discussed below are listed by Czerwiński (2005: 83–4) and discussed in the following pages. He does not include the Law on Corporations from 1993 or any laws and policies enacted after 2003.
4. The provisions relating to language here are essentially the same as in the previous Law on Electronic Media from 2003, discussed by Czerwiński (2005: 85).
5. The area of culture was given over to a separate ministry. The information about the changes in the name of the ministry in charge of education is based on the titles of previous ministers and their dates of service listed on the MZOS website, http://public.mzos.hr/Default.aspx?sec=3262, accessed 2 December 2013.
6. The text of the letter was published on the IHJJ website at the time (http://www.ihjj.hr/novosti.html, accessed 25 June 2012) and is currently accessible on Wikipedia (http://hr.wikisource.org/wiki/Otvoreno_pismo_IHJJ_predsjedniku_Vlade_Republike_Hrvatske_Zoranu_Milanoviću, accessed 31 August 2013). The IHJJ also recommended in the same letter against the change of the name of the Ministarstvo zdravstva to Ministarstvo zdravlja 'Ministry of Health'.

7. This is given in the genitive plural in the original for some reason, although one would expect it to be cited in the nominative case.
8. The term *direktor* has now become less popular in official usage and is often replaced by grander-sounding titles, such as *predsjednik uprave* 'president of administration', but is still frequently used in the media and everyday speech.
9. Paragraph 5.2. This example is discussed by Czerwiński (2005: 87).
10. See Opačić (2009: 49) for a discussion of the expanding use of *djelatnik*.
11. Pojmovnik europskih integracija, http://www.mvep.hr/ei/default.asp?ru=137&sid=&akcija=&jezik=1, accessed 4 July 2012. The MVEP website now offers a newer version, entitled *Short lexicon of European Integration* (*Mali leksikon europskih integracija*, Bilušić and Brigljević 2010) as well as a *Handbook for the Translation of Legal Acts of the European Union* (*Priručnik za prevođenje pravnih akata Europske Unije*, Novak 2003).
12. It is not clear whether or not the two proposed laws even reached the point of formal consideration by the full Parliament.
13. This could change, given the government's recent endorsement of the IHJJ pravopis for use in the schools; see Chapter 8.

7 Institutions of language planning

1. See Eastman (1983: 233–5) and Ager (1996: 56ff.) for a discussion of other language-planning institutions beside the academies in France and Sweden. General discussions of language academies, their characteristics, and functions can be found in Thomas (1991: 108–12) and Spolsky (2009: 234–40).
2. In addition to divisions for language and literature, the Croatian Academy also has divisions for social sciences, mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural sciences, medicine, visual arts, music and musicology, and engineering.
3. Except for 1941–1945, when it was temporarily renamed the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
4. More information on the history of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts can be found on its website, http://info.hazu.hr/osnutak_akademije, accessed 3 October 2013.
5. See http://info.hazu.hr/razred_za_filoloske_znanosti, accessed 20 September 2013. Although researchers in the Division of Philological Sciences have worked on this supplement for many years, nothing has yet been published. To the best of our knowledge, this project has actually been abandoned.
6. An expanded version was first published in Croatia in 1986 under the title 'O ključnim pitanjima hrvatskoga književnog jezika'.
7. See http://hjp.novi-liber.hr/index.php?show=povijest&chapter=34-poseban_jezik, accessed 3 October 2013. This website reproduces the text of HAZU (1996) and 33 other documents considered to be important for the history of the Croatian language.
8. An earlier incarnation of the Council, the Vijeće za normu hrvatskoga jezika, was established by the Ministry in 1998, with Stjepan Babić as the president (see Babić 1998). There is very little specific information available about the activities of the first Council, and after some of its orthographic proposals were sharply criticized it was dissolved (Jaroszewicz 2004: 175–8). Babić

(1999) writes about the controversy connected with the first Council over the question of changing the spelling of the diphthong *ije/je* to *ie*.

9. The members were Radoslav Katičić, president (HAZU), Mislav Ježić, vice-president (HAZU), Ivo Pranjković (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb), Dunja Pavličević-Franić (Faculty of Education, University of Zagreb), Mirko Peti (Matica hrvatska), Ljiljana Kolenić (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Osijek), Dunja Brozović Rončević (Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics, Zagreb), Marija Turk (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Rijeka), Branka Tafra (Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb), Mile Mamić (Department of Croatian and Slavic Studies, University of Zadar), Ivan Zoričić (Faculty of Philosophy in Pula, University of Rijeka), Joško Božanić (Department of Humanities, University of Split), and Tomislav Ladan (Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, Zagreb). Ladan died in the autumn of 2008 and Marko Samardžija was appointed to replace him in 2009. The affiliations listed here reflect the institutions that these individuals officially represented on the Council, but their affiliations often overlap. For example, Ježić and Samardžija are also professors at the University of Zagreb, Brozović Rončević was also a member of HAZU, Peti (now retired) was working at the Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics when the Council was formed, and many of these individuals are also members of the Matica hrvatska.
10. See MZOŠ (2005), MZOS (2012). The official documents related to the creation and dissolution of the Vijeće, together with the minutes of its meetings and its correspondence with the Ministry, were published in a special edition of *Jezik* (Volume 60, Issues 2–4, 2013).
11. For example, Mate Šimundić wrote the preface to his *Dictionary of unnecessary foreign words in the Croatian language* (*Rječnik suvišnih tuđica u hrvatskomu jeziku*, 1994) using a version of this spelling system, and Bulcsú László, a professor of linguistics at the University of Zagreb, has argued for such a revision of the orthography in a number of interviews and articles. László has continued to publish scholarly works using his own idiosyncratic orthographical system, which also indicates prosodic features not normally represented in spelling. For example, following are two sentences from the abstract of an article published in 2007: ‘Člānak se b'avī jezikoslovnīm okolīšem s motrišta prāva hrvātskōga jezika na vlastitū istob'it rāzličitu od˛srbskē. Oprimėrāvā se nadmašnōst Hrvātskōga u rėčotvorbi na glavnimi jez'icimi eur'ōpskimi’ (László and Boras 2007: 27). László has essentially invented his own Croatian language, which also differs from standard Croatian in its morphology and lexicon.
12. Katičić states that this has been verified in experimental phonetic research, but gives no references. Brozović (2006a [1972–1973]) makes the same claim that the affricate is pronounced longer in forms of this type, and reports that he tested this in surveys. However, he does not cite any actual supporting data, but only states that he expects that acoustic phonetic measurements would confirm that a difference exists. Regardless of whether this is true or not, we should note that other subtle phonetic distinctions of this type are typically not represented in the orthography.

13. Of the pairs *mlatac/mladac* and *letak/ledak* cited by Katičić, *mlatac* 'thresher' and *ledak* 'ice plant' (a type of succulent plant) are not included in the dictionaries by Anić (1998), Bujas (1999), or Šonje (2000). *Mladac* is found in current dictionaries but is not a frequent form.
14. The argument for an exception in the case of *otac* 'father' and some other words discussed at this meeting had also been made earlier by Brozović (2006a [1972–1973]). According to him, most speakers pronounce a short [ts] in *oca* and other oblique case forms of this noun due to morphological factors, but as mentioned earlier, he makes no reference to acoustic measurements that would support this assertion.
15. The conventional *ije* spelling reflects a disyllabic pronunciation that occurs in some dialects for the reflex of a long **ě*, but this pronunciation is not typical for Croatian ijekavian dialects or the standard language, with a few exceptions (for example, the word *dvije* 'two'; see Brozović 2006b [1972–1973]).
16. Namely *ogrjev* 'firewood', *(po)modrjeti* 'to become blue'. In addition, this rule does not apply to forms in which a morpheme boundary separates the *r* and the preceding consonant; for example, *rješenje* 'solution', *razrješenje* 'loosening, untying'.
17. Pranjković was not actually present, but his written objections to Katičić's opening statement were read aloud at the meeting.
18. Katičić (2013: 56) recounts that when the Council was formed, the Minister of Science, Education, and Sports, Dragan Primorac, said to him: 'Know that in Croatia there is no one above the Council in questions of the Croatian standard language'. Katičić adds that 'This [authority] was never withdrawn'.
19. It should be noted that the idea that foreign borrowings are difficult for the average speaker to fully comprehend has been expressed earlier by other Croatian writers; see, for example, Pavešić et al. (1971: 18) and Brabec (1982: 8).
20. The principles given in the STRUNA brochure are almost identical to the ones published elsewhere by Frančić, Hudeček, and Mihaljević (2006: 221–2).
21. For example, a search conducted on 24 September 2013 for the word *izvješće* 'report' in the newspaper subcorpus yielded 4,877 occurrences, all but 26 of which were in texts from the online version of *Vjesnik* from 2006; one was from *Glas Koncila* (a newspaper published by the Catholic Church), and the remaining 25 had no source or date listed. A search for the same word in the literature subcorpus yielded 283 occurrences, more than half of which were in a single work (Radelić et al. 2006), mostly representing bibliographical references to official documents.
22. See, for example, 'The Council for the Norms of the Standard Language discussed old plural case forms' (HINA 2006), 'The idea that Croatian is based on a Serbian dialect is very much alive in Serbia' (HINA 2007).
23. The Matica hrvatska published a full-page advertisement announcing this fact in *Vijenac* (No. 498, 4 April 2013, p. 26). According to Derk (2013), the Agencija za odgoj i obrazovanje approved the use of the Matica hrvatska pravopis as a supplementary instructional material in February of 2013.

8 Language purism, handbooks, and differential dictionaries

1. Zoričić (1998: 414–16) gives a similar three-way classification, but passes over in silence the highly influential work of Guberina and Krstić (1940), as well as the linguistic purism of the NDH regime. Rišner (2006) divides language handbooks into four periods, treating the years 1939–1944 separately. Readers may refer to her article for additional information on various language handbooks, as well as to Peti (2006) for a more detailed discussion of differential dictionaries. A list of usage guides compiled by Ivan Marković is available on the Hrvatski plus website, http://www.hrvatskiplus.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=378:markovic-savjetnici&catid=41:bibliografije&Itemid=48.
2. That is, forms common to kajkavian and Slovenian that are also treated as standard in Croatian.
3. The term 'internationalism' may be interpreted in different ways. While some linguists use this to refer to lexemes based on classical (Latin or Greek) roots, others include any lexemes that are used in many languages with the same meaning, regardless of their etymological origin.
4. See, for example, the earlier works of linguists such as Katičić, which were based on the concept that 'the standard language of the Serbs, Montenegrins, the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Croats is one language, namely standard neoštokavian, with two fairly clearly polarized variants, one Serbian and the other Croatian' (Katičić 1992 [1974]: 106; see also Katičić 1992 [1975–1976]). The same applies to Brozović and Babić; see, for example, the section 'Suvremeni standardni jezik' written by Brozović in Brozović and Ivić (1988: 99–119), or 'The elimination of Croato-Serbian linguistic differences' (Uklanjanje hrvatsko-srpskih jezičnih razlika*)* in Babić (1964).
5. Zgusta (1971: 204ff.) discusses various types of restricted and prescriptive dictionaries, but does not mention differential dictionaries of the type considered here.
6. For example, due to the fact that Slovak developed as a separate standard language relatively late, and was subject to a massive influx of Czech words after the creation of a unified Czechoslovakia in 1918, a strong anti-Czech purism developed in Slovakia (see Auty 1973: 341). A number of differential Slovak-Czech dictionaries were published in the 20th century; for example, Tvrdý (1922), Nečas and Kopecký (1989), Horecký et al. (1997).
7. *Uzduh* would be the historically expected reflex of this word in štokavian.
8. The forms *nazočan, nazočnost* recommended by Maretić in the excerpt above are actually of kajkavian origin, which should disqualify them in his eyes, but he was either unaware of this fact or chose to ignore it.
9. Cited by Peti (2006: 516). See the latter for a detailed discussion of Belić's criticisms.
10. See the foreword to this collection, written by Ivo Pranjković, for more information about these articles and their place in Jonke's scholarly career. The following discussion draws from Pranjković's foreword and the original versions of these texts reprinted in Jonke (2005).

11. This handbook at the time had a great public influence and attracted both positive and exceptionally negative evaluations from linguists and other interested intellectuals. One of the harshest, but in our opinion largely justified, attacks on this handbook can be found at http://www.monitor.hr/clanci/hrvatski-jezicni-savjetnik-svastara-neslozne-brace/3779/ (accessed 20 June 2013). See also Greenberg (2004: 122–5) for a discussion of the treatment of native versus foreign forms in the *Hrvatski jezični savjetnik*.
12. The excessive length of the *Savjetnički rječnik* is due partly to the fact that it lists proper nouns and their derivatives (possessive adjectives, diminutives), even when these names are unusual or the derivatives are perfectly regular. It also includes derivatives for other words that would be rarely, if ever, used.
13. In fact, a disclaimer is given in a footnote at the beginning of the section on the separated versus joined spelling of particular forms, which states that: 'In this section are given orthographic decisions that reflect the personal opinion of the author. These decisions are not in accordance with those carried out in the other parts of the Savjetnik (the editorial committee)'.
14. See, for example, Babić and Ham (2005). Greenberg (2004: 125–32) provides a discussion of orthographic controversies in Croatia after 1991, focusing on the BFM pravopis, which he labels 'the prescriptivist Pravopis' and the 'descriptivist' Anić-Silić pravopis. Babić (2005) gives a collection of his articles on individual orthographic questions, the history of Croatian orthography, and polemics about orthographic issues.
15. Spellings with *e* instead of *je* are required in inflected forms or derivatives of *vrijeme* 'time' (for example, G.SG *vremena*, ADJ *vremenski*), *privrijediti* 'to earn' (for example, *privreda* 'economy'), *upotrijebiti* 'to use' (for example, *upotreba* 'use', *potreban* 'necessary'), and *naprijed* 'forward' (for example, *napredak* 'progress'), as well as in established place names and their derivatives. For six other common words, all related forms can be spelled with either *e* or *je* (for example, *brijeg* 'hill', N.PL *bregovi* or *brjegovi*). All other forms must be spelled with *je* (for example, *grijeh* 'sin', *pogrješka* 'mistake'). Although some of the exceptions seem to be motivated by frequency, this is not always the case; for example, derivatives of *drijen* 'cornelian cherry' can be spelled with either *je* or *e* (compare *drjenik/drenik* 'grove of cornelian cherry trees'), but these forms are surely far less frequent than derivatives of *grijeh* 'sin'. The rules proposed here by Babić, Finka, and Moguš (2003: 41–7) are unnecessarily complicated and confusing for users of the language.
16. For example, from Babić, Finka, and Moguš (2003), opposite the title page: 'The Ministry of Culture and Education of the Republic of Croatia approved the use of this book in the primary and secondary schools of the Republic of Croatia by the decision 523-02-01/5-94-01 of 18 April 1994'.
17. See Chapter 7 and Derk (2013). As the latter article points out, the publication of orthographic manuals, particularly when they gain approval for school use, is a 'cash cow' for publishers, which can explain some of the controversies that predictably arise when a new pravopis is published, as well as the frequent publication of new editions of existing orthographic manuals. For example, according to Derk (2013), the 1990 edition of the BFM pravopis sold 100,000 copies, and the 8 subsequent editions have also been successful; this obviously represents a significant source of income for the publisher and authors alike. Consequently, the polemics over changing orthographic

practices are not necessarily motivated solely by ideological or scholarly differences. It is unclear what motivated the Agencija za odgoj i obrazovanja to approve the Matica hrvatska pravopis for use in schools right before the appearance of the new IHJJ pravopis, which was reportedly undertaken at the request of the Minister of Science, Education, and Sports. Interestingly, almost no mention of this approval of the Matica hrvatska pravopis can now be found (even on the Matica hrvatska's website, where the manual is advertised). It is not clear whether this approval was subsequently withdrawn when the Ministry approved the IHJJ pravopis (see below).

18. According to the director of the IHJJ, Željko Jozić, the Institute received more than 400 letters about the pravopis, including comments from about 30 linguists (HINA 2013d).

9 Models of linguistic perfection: the role of the educational system in Croatian language planning

1. The most recent curricular plans and textbook standards are accessible online, but documents from earlier periods are not readily available. We consulted the Croatian School Museum (*Hrvatski školski muzej*) in Zagreb for earlier curricular plans and school textbooks, but even their archives are not complete.
2. Original text: 'Član 138. U Socijalističkoj Republici Hrvatskoj u javnoj je upotrebi hrvatski književni jezik – standardni oblik narodnog jezika Hrvata i Srba u Hrvatskoj, koji se naziva hrvatski ili srpski. Zakonom, statutima društveno-političkih organizacija udruženog rada te drugih samoupravnih organizacija i zajednica osigurava se u javnom životu ostvarivanje ravnopravnosti jezika i pisama naroda i narodnosti na područjima na kojima žive i utvrđuju se način i uvjeti primjenjivanja ravnopravnosti. Pripadnici naroda i narodnosti imaju pravo na upotrebu svojeg jezika i pisma u ostvarivanju svojih prava i dužnosti te u postupku pred državnim organima i organizacijama koje obavljaju javna ovlaštenja' (Grakalić 1975; the text of this article is also available at http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socijalistička_Republika_Hrvatska, accessed 19 November 2013).
3. The document itself includes no publication date, but according to the head librarian at the Hrvatski školski muzej, Zagreb, this curricular plan must have been published in 1989 or 1990.
4. The Homeland War (Domovinski rat) is the most common name used in Croatia for the armed conflict following Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia in 1991.
5. Note that these same inconsistencies are still present in the revised 2011 version, although minor changes have been made to the wording in certain places. For example, the 2010 version states that multilingual and intercultural competence promotes tolerance (*snošljivost)*, while the 2011 version replaces this with *tolerancija* (MZOŠ 2011: 55). However, such individual lexical substitutions appear to be rare; other differences that we noted in the text were simply minor rewordings for the sake of style or clarity. The main difference between the two versions seems to be in the layout of the document and its graphics.

6. For example, Frančić, Hudeček, and Mihaljević (2006: 210) classify borrowings as *tuđice*, *prilagođenice*, and *usvojenice*. According to their definitions, *tuđice* are borrowings that have been adapted to Croatian spelling and phonetics, but still retain some characteristics of their source language that are not typical of Croatian. *Prilagođenice* are borrowings that have been adapted to the phonological and morphological system of Croatian and do not differ significantly from native Croatian words in these respects. *Usvojenice* are borrowings that have been completely incorporated into the language and can no longer be distinguished from native Croatian words. They treat internationalisms in a separate section (211–12).
7. In general, *naziv* traditionally had a broader meaning of 'name, appellation, term' while *termin* was reserved for '(technical) term'. However, Šonje (2000) defines *naziv* only as 'a word used for a technical concept, a term', reflecting the same push to replace *termin* with a native expression.
8. *Raščlaniti* is a calque with a literal meaning of breaking something down into its component parts, so there is absolutely no difference in meaning between this verb and *analizirati*. *Svojstvo, osobina*, and *značajka* are synonyms, all of which could be equally well translated as 'characteristic', 'trait', or 'feature'. Šonje (2000) defines *svojstvo* as 'ono što je komu, čemu svojstveno; obilježje, odlika'; *značajka* as 'svojstvo, obilježje, odlika, karakteristika'; and for *osobina* simply refers the user to the entries for *svojstvo, značajka, odlika, obilježje*.
9. This is essentially an advertisement for a book issued by the same publisher as this textbook, since this orthographic handbook is not required by the Ministry of Science, Education, and Sports. The orthographical principles in this volume are the same as in the BFM pravopis.
10. The masculine/neuter definite adjectival ending for both the dative and locative singular is *-om*, with the option of a longer form *-omu* in the dative, according to the twentieth-century norms. In the 1990s a number of authors recommended that these two cases be distinguished in the longer adjectival endings, with *-ome* used for the locative and *-omu* for the dative.
11. This particular book is a reader for seventh-grade history (we were unable to find a seventh-grade textbook from this period), so the texts reproduced in it are themselves not representative of Croatian usage at the time. These examples were all taken from the commentaries and questions to the reading selections.
12. Croatia has had an institute for teacher support since 1874, which has naturally undergone changes in its official title and the scope of its activities over time. The AZOO was created by the Law on the Agency for Education and Teacher Training in 2006 (http://www.azoo.hr/images/stories/dokumenti/propisi/Zakon_AZOO.pdf, accessed 20 November 2013).
13. We were able to obtain a copy of this document given to participants in the symposium. The final version that was published and distributed to other bodies is no longer available online.
14. Tadić also introduces Croatianisms into computer science terminology, but unsystematically, and he usually cites them alongside the corresponding English term; for example, '*pričaonice* (engl. chat rooms), *mrežne novine* (engl. newsgroups), *provjernici pravopisa* (engl. spelling checkers), *provjernici gramatike* (engl. grammar checkers) *ili provjernici stila* (engl. style checkers)' (Tadić 2008: 25).

15. All of these data exclude forms occuring in direct quotes in these texts.
16. The two questionnaires were identical in all respects, except that the second one corrected a mistake in the first questionnaire and included an additional pair of forms in Sections 1 and 2.
17. Differences in responses between primary and middle-school teachers or among different age groups (gender was not considered since virtually all of the teachers in both surveys are female) also do not exhibit any clear patterns. We will consequently report only the total figures for each survey, rather than breaking the data down into the various subgroups.
18. Bujas 1999 specifically marks the latter words as Serbian; the other two sources do not use this designation in general.
19. However, it is not clear how these sentences were evaluated for correctness. It is impossible to know, for example, whether the students were held to the norms of the BFM pravopis and had sentences marked incorrect if they followed the recommendations of one of the other competing orthographic manuals. The article includes the list of sentences used for the previous task, but does not include any examples of the students' writing collected in this task.

10 The media and the message: the promotion and implementation of language planning in print, broadcasts, and on the Internet

1. See the Freedom House (2010) 'Freedom of the Press' report for Croatia and the Croatia report for the AEJ Media Freedom Survey (Duka 2007). Fuller discussions of the media environment in Croatia since 1991 can be found in Malović and Selnow (2001), Groner (2006), and Peruško (2007).
2. See http://info.hazu.hr/alemko_gluhak_biografija. We should also mention here the regular articles in *Vijenac* written by Nives Opačić after the end of Brozović's series (see Chapter 8).
3. Both *Riječi*, *riječi*, *riječi* and *Hrvatski u zrcalu* ran for a number of years, although we do not have any information on the precise dates. *Jezikomjer* was broadcast from 2002–2004 (see Šafarić 2007: 244). *Navrh jezika*, which is aimed at children, began production in 2005, and *Jezik za svakoga* went on the air in 2013; both of these are still being broadcast as of June 2014 (see http://www.hrt.hr/htv/emisije/navrhjezika/ and http://hrtprikazuje.hrt.hr/jezik-za-svakoga).
4. In the context of English, we may compare such advice with the venerable dicta of William Strunk, Jr. (1869–1946), which continue to be republished to this day; for example, '**Like**. Not to be used for the conjunction *as*.' or 'Do not use *they* when the antecedent is a distributive expression such as *each, each one, everybody, every one, many a man*. Use the singular pronoun' (Strunk 2000: 51, 60).
5. Although the individual contributions are titled and the authors are indicated by initials, together with the date of the original broadcast, for the sake of simplicity we will refer only to the page numbers in the collection when citing examples.
6. It is interesting that the author chose to discuss this particular pair, since *poručiti* does not seem to have ever been widely used in Croatian in the meaning 'to order', and this difference between Croatian and Serbian usage is well known.

7. One of the more egregious examples of this can be seen in an article that Marijan Krmpotić, who is also the author of a language handbook for HRT (see below), wrote for the ultra-nationalist paper *NDH* (1999). He states: 'Serbian, like the majority of Balkan languages, is relativistic and undefined, so that Serbian words for the most part are easily changeable and polysemous […] However, when such polysemous, unstable words from Serbian penetrate into Croatian, then they in turn create general confusion and the destruction of a whole range of native Croatian words. As a result Croatian indeed becomes impoverished and is spoiled and destroyed; it degenerates and degrades to the Balkan level'.
8. The author of this handbook deserves some commentary. Marijan Krmpotić is known as an advocate of the korienski pravopis (prescribed by the NDH authorities during World War II), and was the author of a column on language in the extreme right-wing paper *NDH*, named after this Nazi puppet state, as well as writing articles on language for more mainstream papers and magazines since 1990. He is not a professional linguist; in the handbook he is listed simply as an employee of HRT's Service for Development and Training. His biography on Wikipedia indicates that he worked in the Institute for the History of the Workers' Movement of Croatia in the 1960s, which was directed by Franjo Tuđman at the time, and that he was forced out his job by the communist authorities because of his support for the 'Declaration on the Name and Status of the Croatian Language' in 1967 (http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marijan_Krmpotić, accessed 9 January 2014). These connections may explain why he was selected to create this handbook.
9. See, for example, Pranjković (2000) and the criticism of this article in Grčević (2001).
10. Langston (1999) is based on small samples (about 40,000 words each) from eight media outlets. Grčević's work is based on a large (14-million word) corpus, but the sources are not broadly representative (see below). Rittgasser (2003) does not identify the specific sources included in his corpus and cites no numerical data on usage. Czerwiński's corpus includes five sources ranging from right to left on the political spectrum, but the sample sizes are apparently small (the total size of the corpus is not mentioned, but it is made up only of texts from January 2002 from each source).
11. See http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/. Another online corpus being constructed by the Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje (http://riznica.ihjj.hr/) was not consulted, since documentation on the size of the corpus and sources is not available on the website. Based on the results of searches, the newspaper subcorpus appears to consist almost exclusively of texts from *Vjesnik* from 2000–2007.
12. The symbolic value of this particular spelling can also be seen on the H-Alter website (www.h-alter.org, accessed 15 June 2014), a liberal/alternative news source, where the menu item for European/Regional News is labeled E_ROPA/REGIJA.
13. Texts were taken from 30 of the most popular blogs on the site (identified as 'cool blogovi' or 'almost cool blogovi'). There were a number of additional criteria used to select the blogs for inclusion in the corpus. The blogs had to be written in ijekavian štokavian by individuals living in Croatia, to the extent that this could be determined (most often by references within the

blog postings themselves). Preference was given to blogs consisting primarily of longer connected prose texts to simplify the compilation of the data. Blogs (or individual postings) containing obvious lengthy quotations from other sources were excluded, as were blogs consisting primarily of poetry.

11 The Croatian language question today on the boundary of identity and ideology

1. See 'Dragojević: Slovenački, hrvatski, makedonski i crnogorski mediji su pisali o uspehu Parade kao da je domaći film' (Dragojević: The Slovenian, Croatian, Macedonian, and Montenegrin media wrote about the success of *Parade* as though it were a domestic film) (2012). The success of the film in Croatia is perhaps even more surprising because it deals with gay rights issues, given that Croatian society is largely Catholic and conservative.
2. Even such an ostensibly rational reform to the standard language also involved complex language ideological debates, as Johnson (2005) discusses.
3. Compare Cooper's (1989: 154) discussion of his term *renovation* for this process.
4. In addition to the data discussed here, other survey research conducted in the 1990s also indicated some resistance to changes in the standard language; see Langston and Peti-Stantić (2003).

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